Cathedrals.

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TRADITIONS AND CUSTOMS

OF

Cathedrals.

BY

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'A narrative memory with circumstances of time, persons, and places, and with names.'—LORD BACON.

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PREFACE.

A SUCCINCT account of the various uses and great varieties found in our Cathedrals, embracing the curiosities of a very wide subject, I thought might interest many readers. With this intention my little volume is offered to the public, having received in the present edition a considerable accession of fresh matter, with I hope an improved arrangement of its contents. It resolves itself into three main divisions :

I. Historical, containing a sketch of the Cathedrals of the Old and New Foundation, with notices of the 'moving history' of ravage or injury, which make a further demand on our interest and sympathy beyond their sacred character, their national associations, their antiquity, their manifold contents, or their value as monuments of Art.

II. Partly Archæological, with details of their ancient customs, not without profit as examples

for imitation or warnings of failure, interspersed with legend and tradition; and

III. Partly modern and practical, as indicating the various uses which have grown up, alongside with material restoration, in the celebration of Divine Service, when evidences of new life and unbroken vitality are rife on every side. Changes in the structure and furniture and services have been supplemented by the dying out of traditional lore; and designs are on foot to remodel their constitution: so that, on either ground, I hope to interest both the curious antiquary in matters of ritual, and the conscientious reformer in points of detail.

The three beautiful 'Sisters of the Vale'—the spires of Lichfield—so beautiful that old Fuller suggests that they should only be shown on great festivals; the glorious towers of Lincoln, on its sovereign hill, the delight of Southey and Wordsworth; the majestic pile of York, perhaps the most admired in modern times, although Lord Burlington could not award his preference; the massive grandeur of Durham, immortalised by Scott and Johnson; the grace of Salisbury; the unequalled front of Wells; the triple porches or

gallery of Peterborough; the soaring angel steeple of Canterbury, and its more than rival at Gloucester, if lost would be irreparable. They were the production of men who thought that to work was to pray, and laboured as those who in their daily procession spent every day as if their last, pourtraying the pilgrimage of earth. Erasmus tells us of the joy of the travellers as they heard the great bells of Canterbury booming over the country side, and saw the two towers rising as if to salute those who approached; and the church with such majesty lifting itself into the sky, that even afar off it inspired religious awe, and when near blinded the eyes with its splendour.[1] Gostling mentions that he had seen the eyes of negroes glisten as they caught their first sight of the interior, and Southey says he heard more than one American say it was worth while to cross the Atlantic in order to see a single Cathedral.

They are the history of England written in stone; the erection, not of ecclesiastics only, but of every class of the community; storehouses and treasuries of the arts, whether in glass, architecture, painting, sculpture, or carved work: there is scarcely a name of an ecclesiastic eminent in

[1] Peregrin. Relig. ergo; Op. 1. 360.

piety or literature which is not contained in their list of members; the graves of the highest and noblest are made, or their memorials erected under the shadow of their vaults; music, learning, and science have flourished within their walls; vast sums have been spent by persons in modern pilgrimages coming to visit their beauty; and a noble spirit of restoration has revived what was decayed in their structure and faulty in arrangement. They are a part of the Constitution, and, as Coleridge says, a petrifaction of religion. They elevate the position of the town which they grace; they raise the ordinary thoughts of men who labour and toil in the busy world around them, and make foreigners own, in despite of our miserable present style, that we once had a national architecture, which (as Æneas Sylvius, centuries ago, said at York, when he admired 'its gleaming walls of glass and graceful shafts,') produced fabrics 'whose fame was commensurate with the civilised world.'

The notes for this little volume have been collected in the course of special reading extended over nearly a quarter of a century, and during frequent visits to our Cathedrals. They are arranged in an order as consecutive as was com-

patible with their multifarious and often interchangeable character. Every reference has been verified according to the canon laid down by Dr. Routh, for the work is designed (however imperfectly the purpose may have been carried out) to be popular, trustworthy, and instructive.

NOTES.

Page 4.—At Dunkeld Bishop Ralston (c. 1447), in the same spirit, with several persons of high rank, carried every day burdens of stones from Burnbane quarry to build the cathedral nave. [Perthshire, 971.]

Page 77.—*For* 1650 *read* 1644.

These prisoners, made at the Battle of Dunbar, 1650, during the month of October, are said to have left the prints of their iron-shod heels on the marble slab of the altar. [*Notes and Queries*, 3rd Ser. xii. 380; *Surtees*, iv. 10; *Raine*, 12, 45.]

Page 102, line 5.—Pugin, in his 'Contrasts,' gives the old reredos of Durham and the 'altar-piece' of Hereford in 1830.

Page 113, lines 17–24.—This passage should be transposed to page 231, line 20.

Page 167, line 6.—The archbishop, when about to visit his diocese, occupies a chair in front of the marble throne, which is only used before a visitation of the province.

St. William was poisoned with the ablutions of the chalice at the high altar of York in 1154. [*Cotton*, 69; *Hoveden*, i. 123. *Godwin*. *Gul. Neubrigensis*, i. 26.]

Page 193, line 16.—At Chichester the choristers acted plays in the reign of Elizabeth. The Lady Chapel (p. 104) was re-opened for service on October 12, 1872.

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TRADITIONS AND CUSTOMS

OF

CATHEDRALS.

SECTION I.

WANT OF CONTEMPORARY NOTICES OF USES AND CUSTOMS.

It is an unfortunate fact that few ecclesiastics possessed of opportunities of daily observation have been animated with the spirit of the early ritualists, and played the important part of contemporary historians, with the exception of an illustrious band of Frenchmen, such as De Moleon, Claude de Vert, Le Brun, Mabillon, and Martene. In England the Church at the Reformation established an uniform rite, and, in consequence, the ancient uses became obsolete, except so far as old tradition and custom were necessary to supplement the deficiencies and slender directions of the new rubric. In time, owing to frequent revisions and political and religious changes, even this oral, or rather practical, reminiscence of previous usages gradually dimmed and partially passed away. The material fabrics suffered a great change, which contributed to efface ancient memories.

We have thus lost in our churches many an in-

valuable work of art, and our libraries show empty shelves, once rich in books, which would have thrown a clear light on archæological points now hopelessly involved in obscurity. No wonder foreign nations marvelled at our barbarous proceedings, as Bale wrote to Leland; the pity is that we, three centuries after, suffer by this hot and rash fury of destructiveness.[1] It must plead my excuse for any shortcomings in the present volume; which is designed to embody all the strays and waifs of incidental information now available with regard to the Customs of our Cathedrals, mainly since the Reformation, and in degree previous to that great convulsion in the Church of this country.

BUILDING OF CATHEDRALS—ST. WOLSTON'S TEARS—ACCIDENTS TO ARCHITECTS—LOSINGA'S PENANCE—CANONS BEGGING ALMS—THE FRAUD OF WALKELYN—LORD BROOKE'S WISH.

CATHEDRALS were, like Rome, not built in a day, and even at their commencement their foundations were laid with difficulty.

St. Wolstan, the bishop, whose pastoral staff fixed itself in the solid stone of the Confessor's tomb,[2] wept when rebuilding his minster, 'for,' said he, 'we destroy the works of saints; their happy age required no sumptuous piles, but dedicated itself to God under any roof, whilst we, careless of souls, heap up stones.'[3]

[1] Ang. Sac. i. 436. Wood. Hist. of Oxf. Ann. ii. 107. Collier vi. 428. Southey, Book of the Church ii. 125. Life ii. 319. Spelm. Hist. of Sacril. 202.

[2] Matt. Par. ed. Wats, Additamenta, p. 17. [3] W. Malm. 283.

Successive disasters made the work slow owing to lightning, faulty architects, careless plumbers, general conflagration, ignorant additions, and the injury inflicted during the troubles of mediæval times. It took centuries to complete the glorious structure of Durham after the day when St. Aldune laid St. Cuthbert's body down, in a modest chapel of wattle-work on the wooded hill of Dunholme.[1] Lanfranc removed several sees from villages into towns, under the protection of a Norman castle; Sherborne to Old Sarum, Selsey to Chichester, Lichfield to Chester;[2] and Bishop Poore built Salisbury Cathedral because the site of the old church was dry and bleak, so that the fierce winds drowned the voices of the choir and injured the roofs, whilst the 'soldiers who guarded the earl's castle were of insolent and malapert demeanour,'[3] and the castellian on solemn days refused admission on the ground of military precaution,[4] which made Dean Wanda lovingly linger in his narrative to tell with what solemn order the first stones of the new church were laid. The fiery temper of Archbishop Aldred was wanted on that wild hill; when Urse d'Abitot built his castle at Worcester on part of the churchyard ditch, he addressed him thus, 'Art called Urse? have then God's curse.'[5] The site of Lincoln, to which the see was removed from Dorchester (once the mother church of the diocese of Winchester also), was indicated by visions, miracles, signs and wonders;[6] the devout founder died on the

[1] Sim. Dunelm, 27.
[2] W. Malmesb. 69.
[3] Godwin, 277.
[4] Acts of Faith, iii. 121.
[5] W. Malmesb. 253.
[6] Giraldus, A. S. ii. 415.

eve of the day fixed for the dedication, and Robert of Hereford, being well read in the language of the stars, foresaw the event, and declined to make a fruitless journey.

The cradles of Gothic architecture were at Lincoln and Canterbury; at the latter the architect fell from a scaffold to remain a cripple for life, as Basevi from a similar cause met his death at Ely. At Lincoln, St. Hugh toiled with a hod, bringing mortar and stones to the work.[1] Herbert Losinga, removing the see from Thetford, founded Norwich Cathedral in penitence for his simoniacal possession of the see.[2] In 1242, the monks vaulted the nave of Gloucester with their own unaided hands.[3] The see of Carlisle was founded owing to the sorrow of Henry I. for the loss of the White Ship, and the dear freight which it carried,[4] a circumstance which reminds us of the building of Bolton Abbey, by the bereaved mother of the boy of Egremond, who was supposed to revisit it on holydays in the form of the white doe of Rylstone.

At Salisbury the Canons went on a mission to collect alms; and, owing to the contributions levied on the farmers who fed their flocks on the neighbouring plain, the Cathedral was popularly said to be built on woolpacks; its site was determined by an arrow, shot from the hill of Old Sarum, which fell on the smooth lawn of Merifield. The Butter-tower of Rouen, it will be remembered, took its name from the impost levied on the churns of the city dames. A

[1] Metr. Life, v. 839.
[2] W. Malm. 152.
[3] Chron. Glouc. 29.
[4] Tait's Carl. 15.

license was given by the Bishop or Prior of Durham to bear certain relics of St. Cuthbert, in order to collect alms for the fabric.[1] At St. Asaph, in 1284, the Canons gathered alms, carrying a sacred book of the Gospels through the adjoining dioceses.[2] In 1442 King Henry VI. remitted all taxes due, as the Cathedral had been burned with fire by the Welch in 1402.[3] At Lichfield the bells rang merry peals when the shrine of St. Chad was carried in procession into the city, in order to stimulate the gifts of the devout. The temporary suspension of St. Audrey's fair at Ely caused great loss to the Cathedral.[4] Walkelyn of Winchester obtained permission to take as much timber from Hanepings as could be cut in four days and nights. The bishop set an army of fellers to work, and the whole wood was carted away to rebuild the Cathedral. Soon after, when William passed by, he exclaimed, 'Do my senses deceive me, or had I not once a fair wood here!' and it required a modest artifice of the prelate to appease the King's wrath.[5]

Bishop Oliver, in the reign of Henry VII., having been at Bath, imagined, says Sir J. Harrington, as he one night lay meditating in bed, that he saw angels ascending and descending by a ladder, near which there was a fair olive tree supporting a crown, and heard a voice which said, 'Let an olive establish the Crown, and let a king restore the Church.' In obedience to this vision, he rebuilt St. Peter's minster

[1] III. Script. ccxxiv., ccccxxxvi.; Regin. Dunelm. c. xxxv.
[2] Reg. Peckham, fo. 208.
[3] Edwards, i. 73; ii. 116.
[4] Matt. Par. III. 303.
[5] Ang. Sac. i. 295.

church, only covering, however, the site of the Norman nave, and caused it to be represented on the west front, with the motto *De sursum est.* The commissioners offered to sell the church, as was done at Malvern, St. Alban's, Selby, and many other places, to the townspeople for 500 marks, but they refused the offer, because it was so cheap that the king, as they thought, might believe they had cozened him; glass, iron, bells, and lead were therefore sold and sent beyond seas.[1]

After the civil wars, wood and stone and the alms of the faithful were in requisition, when fanatics like Lord Brooke assailed Cathedrals. On March 2, St. Chad's Day, 1642, he was shot in his left eye by Dumb Dyott, from 'moated Lichfield's lofty pile,' as he was asking inauspiciously a sign of the divine approbation, whilst he advanced upon the close, and 'ordered his battery now completely armed.' Ever fierce against Cathedrals, he had, two years before, as he was passing in a boat upon the Thames, said he hoped to live to see St. Paul's with not one stone left upon another.[2] Good Bishop Hacket, we are told, 'found sorrow and pity in himself to see his Cathedral church lying in the dust, and the very next morning after his arrival set his own coach-horses at work, together with other teams, to carry away the rubbish.' At this time the Chapter House where service was said, and the vestry, were the only places in the church that had a roof to shelter them.

Charles I. 'divided Cathedral churches into three ranks,' as Fuller informs us, 'as he did his royal ships of the line, accounting St. Paul's at London,

[1] Fuller's Worthies. [2] Laud's Diary, iii. 241, 249.

and the Cathedrals of York, Lincoln, and Winchester, of the first; Chichester, Lichfield, &c., of the second; and the Welsh Cathedrals, of the third.'

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION—CATHEDRALS OF THE OLD AND NEW FOUNDATIONS—ABBOT-BISHOPS AT DURHAM, ELY AND CARLISLE—MONASTIC CHAPTERS.

I HAVE given, in my 'Cathedralia and Sacred Archæology,' the gradual development of the Cathedral system in England, its monastic foundations, the abortive attempts at Exeter and Wells to introduce Regular Canons on the model of Lorraine, Hugh Nonant's short-lived policy of the same kind at Coventry in 1190, and the historic notices of the first division of the Common Fund into distinct prebends at Wells and Lincoln, and by Thomas of Bayeux at York, in order to reclaim the waste of St. Peter's Patrimony.[1] For this reason I shall not repeat these details here, but content myself with offering a sketch of the Constitution of Chichester as an instance of secular organisation. I may briefly say that at first Chapters only existed as a corporation presided over by the bishop; and in secular cathedrals the estates were divided at length into three portions, one for the bishop, a second constituting a common fund, and a third being prebendal, consisting of separate endowments for individual members. At Lichfield three Bursary prebends paid out of the episcopal purse, long continued.[2] After internal organisation and gradual attainment of independence of the bishop, the distinction of residentiary and

[1] Leland, Collect. ii. 337. [2] Ang. Sac. i. 449.

non-residentiary canons grew up, but the dean was chosen by cooptation by the members of the great Chapter, who were all episcopal nominees. It was reserved for later times for the Crown to claim the nomination to deaneries, and at St. Paul's three residentiaryships for non-gremial members, a usurpation fixed by the last act of confiscation. The Chapter was subject to the perpetual visitation of the bishop, and formed his council with the right of being summoned in all cases of presentation to capitular benefices, creation of archdeaconries, convening of synods, questions affecting the dignity and property of the body, formation of statutes, appointment to stalls, and examination and ordination for the ministry; the latter privilege, and the obligation of observing the laudable customs and statutes, being recognised by the canons of 1603.[1] They had the power of appeal against the bishop, after due remonstrance, of administration of the diocese during a vacancy of the see, and of election of a successor to the episcopal throne.

'There are in Wales now,' according to the 'Annals of Waverley,' under the date 1085, 'four bishoprics, in England seventeen, and in *seven* of these there are monks in the Cathedrals. This in other provinces you will seldom or never find;[2] but the reason in England for it is that the first preachers to the English, S. Augustine, Mellitus, Justus, and Laurence, were monks. In the other *nine* Cathedrals there are Secu-

[1] xliv. xxxv.

[2] These are almost the words of Ordericus Vitalis: 'scarcely to be found in another country' [Hist. Eccles. iv. 516.]

lar Canons.'[1] This is one of the earliest notices of the distinction between the Cathedrals of Secular Canons and those of Monks, or, as at Carlisle, Regular Canons, before the Reformation, which, since the reconstitution of the latter class, as converted by Henry VIII., have been known as Cathedrals of the Old and New Foundations. The former are those of St. Paul's, Salisbury, Chichester, Exeter, Wells, Hereford, Lincoln, Lichfield, and York; the latter include Canterbury, Durham, Winchester, Rochester, Ely, Norwich, and Worcester (Bath, Coventry, and Carlisle being omitted by the annalist); and the sees created after the dissolution of the Religious Houses, to which I shall presently allude.

Hugh Nonant, Giraldus says, stated before the Provincial Council of London, as a 'well-known and evident fact, that throughout the world the Cathedrals were occupied by [secular] clergy, except in England only, which was converted by the monk St. Augustine, bishop of the English, and in consequence he placed monks in them.'[2] These were erroneous views, for although monks were soon introduced at Canterbury,[3] yet they were not established until the time of Laurence. When Walkelin of Winchester well-nigh persuaded the bishops that Cathedral canons in cope and surplice were better than monks, the archbishop was compelled to urge Pope Alexan-

[1] Comp. Ann. Roffens. A.S. i. 342, Ibid ii. 200, 90; Stubbs, Counc. iii. 576. The monks and canons in 787 were to use the respective habits in use among the easterns, that is, Italians and Germans. Ib. 461.

[2] Ang. Sac. ii. 352. [3] A. S. Chron. s.a. 995; W. Malm. 32.

der III. not to sanction the change.[1] Gundulph. A.D. 1083, followed his policy at Rochester,[2] William of St. Calais at Durham;[3] Ethelwold at Winchester, A.D. 964;[4] Oswald, 'circumventing the canons with holy art' at Worcester, A.D. 969,[5] and Herbert Losinga at Norwich.[6] Peter removed from Lichfield to St. John's, Chester, which he filled with canons, but his successor, Robert I. [de Limesey], made Coventry, then a monastery, his see,[7] and so in 1088 John de Villula chose Bath instead of Wells,[8] and in consequence the monks of these united sees had an equal voice with the canons. At Ely, Bishop Ethelwold ejected the clergy, and established monks, A.D. 970.[9] In their defence the monks invented frauds and legends, such as that of the speaking crucifix, in the old minster of Winchester crying out, 'Never, never be it. Change were evil.'[10] In these Cathedrals the bishop was abbot and the convent the Cathedral Chapter, the monks acting as Cathedral canons, with the same duties as were common to secular churches;[11] and to this day the Bishops of Durham, and Carlisle occupy that which is ordinarily the dean's stall on certain occasions, and the bishop of Ely always; the two former having been a minster of Benedictines, and the latter of Regular Canons of St. Austin. Godwin tells a doleful tale of the troubles of the monks of Winchester about the election of a bishop.[12]

[1] W. Malm. 72. [2] Ibid. 72.
[3] Ibid. 272; Regin. Dunelm. c. xvi.; Hoveden, i. 129, b. 7; Simeon Dun. 212. [4] Ibid. 167; Bromton, 364.
[5] Wendover, i. 413; W. Malm. 248. A.S. ii. 202. [6] Ibid. 151.
[7] Ibid. 310. [8] Ibid. 194. [9] Ibid, 322-4.
[10] Bromton 870. Gervase col. 1647.
[11] Reiner, Apost. Bened. tr. i. sect. i. § 17, p. 77. [12] Catal. 176.

CONSTITUTION OF A CATHEDRAL OF THE FORMER CLASS —CHICHESTER—DUTIES OF MEMBERS—ANCIENT CUSTOMS AND OATHS—QUOTIDIAN—RESIDUE—RESIDENTIARIES—FULL AND HALF-FULL RESIDENCE—FEES FOR ADMISSION—DEAN—PRÆCENTOR—CHANCELLOR—TREASURER—COMMUNAR—INSTALLATION —VICARS' COLLEGE.

OF the Constitution of Selsey Cathedral we know that it was monastic.[1] Stigand, who was promoted by William I., removed in 1082 the see to Chichester,[2] where there had been St. Peter's Minster and a convent of nuns.[3] His successor, Ralph, who may be considered the real founder of the Cathedral as regards the fabric, no doubt also arranged the establishment. In 1108 the Cathedral was consecrated: the Norman system, as adopted at Lincoln by Remigius, was followed at Chichester; for the first Statute of 1114[4] is signed by the DEAN, PRECENTOR, CHANCELLOR, ARCHDEACON, Canons, and Chaplains; and in 1127 a Statute empowered three Canons, including the TREASURER, who received the whole commune, to distribute bread according to the Statute of Bishop Hilary, who had given the prebend of Hangleton, viz., the church of East Dene and its chapelries, lands, and tithes, for the purpose; and from the residue of the commune to give 12*d.* to each canon present in his habit at Mass or Vespers on every Saturday weekly, with a deduction in proportion to his absences, and to every

[1] W. Malm. 232. [2] Wilkins Conc. i. 363, 364.
[3] MSS. Harl. 6973, and Univ. Coll. Oxford, No. cxlviii.
[4] W. Malm. 68, 205.

VICAR 3*d.* over and above the pence which their masters paid them—that is, a mark to a priest, half a mark to a deacon, and 11*d.* to a sub-deacon, each Vicar being bound to be in the same order as the PREBENDARY whom he represented. The residue was divided by advice of the Chapter after all expenses had been paid in the collection of the commune and the stipends of the distributors. The choral habit was to be uniform, a cope open without gorjuræ worn over a surplice or rochet. [This habit appears in two pictures of the time of Sherborne, in the Cathedral.] Those in the upper stalls were to be incensed twice, and a cross was to be carried before the Gospeller if he read in the roodloft.

In 1226 a library had been long formed, for an old custom was revived, to the effect that a residentiary might borrow a reasonable number of books, which he was to return on leaving the city, unless he received the Dean's license and paid down an adequate deposit for their retention.

The Treasurer had the charge of the treasure [the jewels, altar-plate, relics, vestments, and the like] and treasury by night and day, the ringing of the bells, the ornaments of the church, the altars, and the wax for the candles. The number of tapers which he had to furnish was prescribed: there were seven, each of two pounds in weight, upon the high altar, on the roodbeam eight of the same size, and two on the altar steps; two in the small candlesticks carried before the priest when he censed the altar, and two used for the same purpose outside the choir, and two at Nocturns, and three on Trinity Sunday burn-

ing in the chandelier in the midst of the choir; two before the bishop's throne when he was present, and one outside the choir, near the steps leading to the vestry. There were three lights only on the altar on week days and the lesser holydays. Whenever a canon wished to celebrate or hear mass, the Treasurer furnished, through a SACRISTAN or CHURCHWARDEN,[1] once in the day, all necessaries; his other assistants were a CLERK to light the tapers and two SERVANTS or MINISTERS, at least, to ring the bells and sweep out the church at Easter and before the feast of dedication, and also hang the church at proper times with curtains, veils, and palls. At Lincoln, 1440, two residentiaries called Masters of the Fabric, annually elective, looked after the repairs and cleanliness of the church and yard, and saw that no doves haunted the bell-house near the choir.

A canon 'intitled' to sing mass was not bound to entertain the assistants or ministers, unless of his own accord he invited them to take refreshment (*comestio*). In later times, on the quarterly 'cake days,' a trace of the custom remained in the residentiary being conducted to church by the lay vicars.

At Lincoln, 1440, the invitation was to be given on the previous day during the singing of the Ambrosian hymn, or before Lauds, by the canon's chaplain, a priest who accompanied him in going to the choir or chapter. At Wells the canon might, if he so pleased, entertain his vicar at table; but in that case he did not make certain other payments.[2]

[1] Comp. Ang. Sac. ii. 157. [2] Lamb. MS. 729, fo. 76.

The vicars being maintained at the table of their respective masters when resident, it was agreed that the Residentiary should receive his daily bread whether present himself or by deputy at the Nocturns, and also if either of them was sick, or had been blooded, with the license of the dean or other superior of the church. The canon or vicar, if absent on the business of the dean and chapter, and having his expenses paid out of the commune, received his daily pence only on the day of his departure and return. At Lincoln, 1440, the major residence consisted of thirty-four weeks and four days, with license of absence of one entire day in a week, the days of recess and return not being reckoned, with one day also when he was blooded with the dean's leave.

A canon who offended by omitting to do his duty was reprimanded by the dean and chapter; a vicar was fined 1*d.* or 2*d.* out of his weekly stipend; and those of lower degree were punished by the chanter or the *Chanter's Vicar.* The ten *Boys in the Third Form* or *Scholars* were chosen by the latter officers; and their names were written on the upper part of the Table near the margin; and those who were maintained in the household (*familia*) of a canon were to receive special kindness from the dean and chapter. At Lincoln, 1440, the singing boys were admitted in the chapter-house only in presence of the canons. In 1304 two clerks at Chichester furnished by Robertsbridge Abbey, censed the host at the elevation in high mass. At Wells the Eucharist, like the chrism and oils, was kept under lock and key in 1338.[1] At

[1] Lamb. MS. 729, fo. 87.

Lincoln, St. Paul's, and Salisbury, it was suspended in a pendent cup;[1] and in the last cathedral within a silver dove in 1222, which was unique in England.[2] At Rochester and Norwich the Pyx stood on the altar.[3]

In 1247 it was ordered that no canon should receive the quotidian pennies who was not present in his habit in the choir, at vespers, or matins, or High Mass, unless he had a reasonable excuse, or was absent on chapter business, or was going on a journey, or had returned from one. The residue of the commune was to be given to the residentiaries, that is, those canons who resided all the year, being absent only during three weeks in each quarter with the license of the dean or a canon—his *Vice-Gerent:* but it was reckoned to be a *Full Residence* if a canon was not absent during more than twelve weeks in the year altogether. There was also a *Half-Full Residence*, where the absence did not comprise half the year, and in this case any share in the commune was a gift of grace.

The quotidian distribution amounted to 3*d.* to every member present at Matins, Vespers, or High Mass, and on great feasts 1*d.* in lieu of wine to those present at the Gospel at High Mass, if the dean and residentiaries approved. A Vicar, if prevented by illness from attendance at mass and the Hours, was to supply his absence by one of his fellows in the same Form; chaplains where there were two in a

[1] Gervase col. 1300; Hoveden ap. Savile 486; W. Malm. c. 1140, p. 78; Matt. Par. s.a. 1272, p. 977; Dugd. S. Paul's 311.

[2] See Gent. Mag. xiv. NS. 484–6, 772. [3] Ang. Sac. i. 347, 400.

chantry did the same. Canons were bound to repair their prebendal houses, and if they omitted their duty, the dean and chapter compelled compliance with the rule.

Ancient Constitutions with regard to the offices were as follows:—The Dean presided over all canons and vicars as regards cure of souls and correction of morals. At Lincoln, 1440, all in choir bowed to the dean when he entered or left choir, and rose when he passed through it; he visited, with two canons, as assessors, the chapter and all members of the cathedral triennially. On one occasion in the episcopate of Alnwick, the dean overawed the chapter by appearing with a following of armed attendants.

The Precentor ruled the choir as regards the service of song, and could raise or lower the chant; he tabled the leaders and singers for night and day, admitted the inferior clerks into the choir and, in ordinations, read over the names of the clerks to be presented. The Chancellor had the control of schools or taught them, heard and ended the lections, kept, with the aid of a faithful brother, the church seal, and drew up letters and documents (*cartas*). The Treasurer kept the treasures, ornaments, vessels, and utensils; furnished all the lights used throughout the year, rang the bells for all services, and opened and shut the doors.

The only excuse for non-residence was study at the University (*causa scholarum*) and service to the King, who might have one canon in his chapel; an Archbishop might retain one, and a Bishop two. A canon might be absent without leave of the dean

for two days. Only those present received the commune. The dignity of the dean and all canons was that they were to make answer to the bishop only in chapter, whose judgment they were to obey.

At Lincoln, 1440, the dean and canons visited a dying canon with cross, tapers, and bells to give the extreme unction and kiss of peace. When he was dead the Commendation of the Soul was recited after Vespers; the choir and priests in silk copes carried him into the church, where the exequies were said with 'Placebo' and 'Dirige,' and on that night the choir kept watch round the bier on the north side before, and on the south side after, matins, singing the whole Psalter with a full voice. Next day the burial took place.

At Nocturns canons of Chichester were to appear in silk copes without embroidery, except on the four great feasts of the year, or during the presence of the bishop or any great personage at the instance of the dean or other major of the Church. At Wells vicars were forbidden at night to wear silk copes over their black choral cope.[1] A canon of Chichester who intended to become a residentiary paid first twenty-five marks to the dean and chapter, and the same sum to the fabric; he was required to be present in choir at all the Hours; so that if he was absent at any service he had to recommence his residence. Every day he was to entertain at dinner the vicar of his stall, two other vicars of choir, the porter, two sacrists, and one chorister during the

[1] Lamb. MS. 729, fo. 63.

year. He also gave a banquet to the dean and chapter and all the ministers of the church, and strangers coming from any part of Sussex; and so at Exeter, hospites honesti were entertained on all festivals. At Lichfield, in James the First's time, each new vicar paid twenty shillings, called 'interest money,' and at the end of his probation gave a 'Senie feaste.'[1] The term meaning a common supper, occurred at Worcester.[2]

In 1662 hospitality had reached such a height at Durham, that a rule was made that neither the dean nor any prebendary, during his residence of twenty-one days, except once weekly, should invite more than six persons, besides such strangers as they might accidentally meet, under a fine of 5*l.*[3]

The cost of such an entrance on residence, which was common at the period, with a fee of 100 marks in other churches, as Lichfield,[4] and at Salisbury, an ounce of gold to the dean, and 40*s.* to the canons, and sometimes still larger hospitality, no doubt deterred canons from undertaking residence as much as the dislike to conform to strict rule. Archbishop Savage was enthroned by deputy at York, in order to evade the enormous cost of the installation-feast,[5] and yet a princely bishop of Ely at the consecration of his cathedral lamented the paucity of the attendance, although his palace, the convent, and all the townsfolks' houses were full to overflowing, in 1252.[6] At

[1] ? Cœna or Saint's day. Harwood, 264. [2] Noake 296, 252.
[3] Granville's Letters, ii. 140. Comp. Tanner MS. xliv. 105.
[4] Wilkins iii. 505. [5] Godwin, 484.
[6] Matt. Par. Hist. Maj. 848.

the audit of Worcester until 1848 on St. Katharine's day, the dean and chapter gave to the inhabitants of the precincts a rich compound of wine and spices.[1] In the middle of the sixteenth century the chapter books record that each Prebendary of Westminster give a 'dividend of 20*s.* and a pound of pepper' at his installation. When Bishop Pretyman was installed dean of St. Paul's, he gave a dinner in the chapter-house to all the members of the church.[2]

At his institution the Dean, in the presence of the brethren in Chapter, asked the canon of Chichester if he would promise and swear fealty to the Church, obedience to the Dean and Chapter of residence according to the use of the Church; would not reveal Chapter secrets, and would keep all the ancient and approved customs of the Church. If he promised to do this, the Dean gave him the book with (i.e., containing) the Rule (a rod is now erroneously given for seisin), and common bread thereon, saying, 'I receive thee as a canon, and invest you in this prebend with the book for spirituals and bread for temporals.' At Durham the prebendary received white bread laid upon the book of statutes.[3] Afterwards he said, 'Behold how good, &c.;' then the Dean and brethren gave him the kiss of peace, and afterwards being placed before them, he swore to observe the prescribed articles: 'I promise and on these holy Gospels of God swear to observe these articles, and especially the order of Chapter touching the money deposited for the yearly distribution as far as touches me.' After

[1] Noake 307. [2] Malcolm iii. 14. Gent. Mag. lvii. 240.
[3] MS. Harl. 1594, fo. 6.

the oath, he was given a stall in choir and a place in Chapter.

When a Dean was elected by his brethren he was led to his stall solemnly with bells ringing, and the Chanter beginning Te Deum. Then the senior said a prayer, and the election being approved, the elect took his oath of perpetual residence, of observance of the statutes, of maintaining the deeanal stock, and showing in his own person humility and patience. He then prostrated himself before the cross in Chapter, the brethren singing three Psalms, 'Deus misereatur,' 'Ad te levavi,' 'Ecce quàm bonum,' and the senior saying a prayer. He was then solemnly led by the majors to his stall, and the senior said the Lord's Prayer.

The earliest instance of a distinct mention of a prebend does not reach beyond the reign of Edward I. The Vicar was to swear fealty to the Church, obedience to the Dean, reverence to the Chapter, and retention of his stall only at his master's pleasure, and the consent of the Dean and Chapter. There was also a statute requiring the new residentiary to pay fifty marks at his installation. The Dean, Præcentor, Chancellor, and Treasurer had each their own house and oratory, and the Bishop gave the vacant prebendal houses to the residentiaries at his pleasure.

The Vicars occupied a College, with its hall and chapel; the Principal, who was elected annually, superintended the Vicars and reported offenders to the Dean and Chapter, received an oath of obedience, and appointed a deputy in his absence. The Vicars and other commoners were not to linger in the com-

mon hall after the nocturnal collation called Bevers; they were to keep silence within the precinct and in their chambers from 7 P.M. to 7 A.M., and were not to leave them for the night except by permission. They could not receive guests without license; an inventory of plate and a common seal were to be kept; all business was transacted in the common hall; the servants were to be delated but not corrected by the Vicars; the steward kept the daily bread and buttery; they dined after Nones, then sung after the High Mass, and supped after the last anthem, sung in the nave daily; bevers were at 7 P.M.; an anthem was sung after meals, and the Bible or some other lection was read during the time. Vicars were not to carry swords in the city, or keep dogs in their rooms; rules were also prescribed for keeping the quadrangle and cloister clean, for the overseership of lands, distribution of fines, quarterly reading of the Statutes, and choice of servants.

The System in the Old Foundation embraced four persons or dignitaries, the Dean, Precentor, Chancellor, and Treasurer, who occupied the four corners of the choir to overlook the good order of the members of the church; Archdeacons were placed next in order, and then Canons and Prebendaries, according to their order of installation or the foundation of their stalls. Gradually a system of deputies grew up; Bishops had their suffragans, and evaded the Canon which required them at least to reside in their Cathedrals on some of the greater feasts and in part of Lent,[1] being at Court, in Parliament, on foreign embassies, and in

[1] Lyndw. liii. t. iv. 131.

other political and secular employments. The Bishops had so thoroughly abandoned their chapters at the time of the Reformation that in the Cathedrals of the new foundation they are simply recognised as visitors. Bishop Wood of Lichfield was suspended for non-residence, and neither Barlow of Lincoln nor Watson of Llandaff ever saw his Cathedral. In time, the palaces of Lichfield, Lincoln, Durham, Canterbury, York, Rochester, Exeter, and other churches were deserted; at Ely in the middle ages the Bishop had his gallery and private door to enter the Cathedral at his will.[1]

So dignitaries had their representatives,[2] the sub-Dean, sub-Chanter, sub-Chancellor, and sub-Treasurer; and minor canons, as at St. Paul's (St. Patrick's formerly) and Hereford, with right to celebrate at the high altar; or Vicars were appointed for each of the major canons, whether as Priest, Deacon, or sub-Deacon. In some cases a sub-Dean and sub-Chanter of Canons, as at York, Lincoln, and Salisbury, held an intermediate rank between the dignitaries and Canons. Pluralities became common,[3] although forbidden by statute, as at St. Paul's.

The Cursal Canons of St. David's, of whom the Queen holds the first stall, were so called from their rotatory system of allotment, by which they took their tithes. The Golden Prebendary of Hereford, Lincoln, St. David's, and St. Paul's, so called from a richly-endowed stall, was the Bishop's grand penitentiary in the diocese. The Communar distributed the

[1] D. I. Stewart, 242. [2] Dugd. 251, 259.
[3] Wilkins Conc. iii. 62. Comp. my William of Wykeham, 23.

common fund; at Lincoln the Almoner (an officer also at St. Paul's) bore the name of Hospitaller. At York and St. Paul's the Chamberlain made certain payments, and the Clavigers of Hereford kept the keys of the common chest. In Irish Cathedrals the Economist corresponded to the English Master of the Fabric. Annuellars were chantry priests who sang anniversary masses at Wells and Exeter, and in the latter Cathedral the lay clerks were called Secondaries, from their seat in the second row of seats; choristers were commonly called boys of the Almonry. At St. Paul's the head of the minor canons' college is the Warden, and the Proctor at St. Salisbury, and Provost at St. David's, presided over the Vicars. The Precentor was called Provost in the province of Connaught, and Primicier at one time at York and at Aberdeen, where there was also an Archpriest, who ministered within the close. The names of the Prebends were derived from the land or corps which formed their foundation, including such names as Little Mead, Devoured by the Sea, and Ten Pounds, or their founder.

CHANGES AT THE REFORMATION—CATHEDRALS OF THE NEW FOUNDATION—HENRY THE EIGHTH'S ORIGINAL AND AMENDED SCHEMES—FIRST CONSTITUTION OF NORWICH—WESTMINSTER ONCE A CATHEDRAL—ROBBING PETER TO PAY PAUL—PETER SHAVES PAUL—COVENTRY CATHEDRAL DESTROYED—BATH CATHEDRAL LEFT A RUIN—EVILS OF A VICARIOUS SYSTEM.

THE monastic constitution never worked well, for the monks,[1] unlike the secular canons, were constantly at issue with their bishops, and yet it is a remarkable incident that they were in considerable numbers reinstated as Canons of the Cathedrals when recast. In early days the Abbot of Grestein held a stall at Chichester, those of de Lyra and Cormeilles at Hereford, of Muchelney and Athelney at Wells, of Sherborne and Sion at Salisbury, and of Hexham and Nostell at York. In the Cathedrals of the New Foundation, which were remoulded, Henry VIII. says, for the greater increase of piety in the realm,[2] the dignitaries, with the exception of the Dean, disappeared. They were replaced by a Precentor and Sacrist, annually elective by the Dean and Chapter from among the Minor Canons, and two officers, a sub-Dean and Treasurer among the Prebendaries, as they were called from their dividend until the recent act of spoliation. Probably they represent the low estate to which non-residence had reduced the system;

[1] Ang. Sac. i. 620, 436, 727, 749; ii. 480; Godwin, 521, 395, 348, 169, 59.

[2] Preamble to his statutes.

the Dean was now a nominee of the Crown, and the Prebendaries, reduced to a small body, mere sharers in a common fund, were in some cases appointed by the Bishop, and in others by the Crown or Lord Chancellor, or else held their stalls in connection with university distinctions, but equal in duties of residence, emolument, and position; whilst the clergy not of the chapter became wholly subordinate, being no longer vicars, forming an independent corporation, but still, with the lay clerks and choristers, having statutable rights and duties. The reasons offered to Queen Elizabeth for the confirmation of these Cathedrals by Act of Parliament, were that these monuments and ornaments of the realm were dedicated to the daily service of God, and the maintenance of learning, music, and hospitality.[1]

A Gospeller and Epistolar were to assist the celebrant; and a grammar-school, in which the course was to embrace Hebrew, Latin, Greek, and Logic, was supplemented by a liberal foundation for Divinity students at the University; a Reader in Latin and Divinity was to give instruction, and a certain number of the Prebendaries were to be accredited preachers to assist the clergy within a certain area round the Cathedral; whilst a Master of the Children, lay singers and choristers, were appointed to conduct the solemn service of the choir. The Precentor noted the absences of the various members from choir.

Henry VIII. seems at first to have taken the model of the Old Foundations, as at Norwich we find a scheme of seats corresponding to the ancient

[1] Lamb. MS. 943, fo. 389.

rule. On the south side of the choir were two Prebendaries, the Precentor, and Chancellor, and on the north two more, the Treasurer and Archdeacon; two others have distinct prebends, those of Lynn and Yarmouth, and among the sixteen Prebendaries occur the Sub-Dean and Succentor:[1] and the custom of St. Paul's is the rule prescribed in the Statutes of Carlisle and Peterborough. At Durham, also, by Statute of 1556,[2] the custom of the Old Foundations was adopted of giving admission to a new residentiary by the delivery of a white loaf upon the statutes. It is a corroboration of this view to find that Norwich is omitted in the Scheme of new bishoprics[3] (drawn up by Gardiner, 1531–40) which was contemplated by Henry VIII. It includes six sees which were actually constituted—Westminster, Oxford, translated soon after from Osney, Peterborough, Chester, Bristol, Gloucester—and others, which were never erected—St. Alban's, Shrewsbury, Waltham, Colchester, Fountains, and Bodmin-Launceston-St. German's. The first scheme was one for combining abbeys with some of the new Cathedrals, Rochester and Leeds, Osney and Thame, Chester with Wenlock, Carlisle with Roche, and Durham with its cells. Had it been carried out, we should have been spared the scandal of Bishops of Rochester holding, as a matter of course, the Deanery of Westminster (like the deanery of Christchurch, Dublin, in commendam with the see of Kildare,) and similar

[1] Valor Ecclesiasticus, iii. 490–4. [2] Rawlinson MS. 301.

[3] Augment. Office Book xxiv. in the Public Record Office, and Cotton MS. Claud. E. iv. fo. 304b.

painful stories of episcopal indigence and supplementary compensation at a momentous cost to the well-being and reputation of the Church at large. 'The bishopric of Bristol is so beggarly of itself, and hath me so likewise,' said one of its bishops.[1] The revised list omits the adjuncts. In the end, Canterbury, Winchester, Norwich, Carlisle, Durham, Ely, Worcester, and Rochester were converted into secular establishments; and these, with the six newly-erected sees already mentioned, now constitute the Cathedrals of the New Foundation. It is remarkable that no attempt was made to resuscitate the old sees of Sherborne, Lindisfarne, Dorchester, Thetford, Leicester and Stow, or to unite them with the new establishments.

Westminster enjoyed only one episcopate, 1540–1550, and owing to the transfer of some of the lands to the See of London and for the repair of St. Paul's, the proverb arose of 'robbing Peter to pay Paul.'[2] William of Malmesbury in a similar strain says of the removal of the see from Wells to Bath 'that Andrew yielded place to Simon, the elder to the younger.'[3] The Convocation of Canterbury still assembles after the election of each new Parliament in St. Paul's. The inaugural service is said, and the Latin sermon preached in the choir, and the first meeting of the Lower House held in the Morning Prayer Chapel. The Synod afterwards adjourns to Westminster, but is not allowed the use of the Jerusalem Chamber without a solemn protest from

[1] Malcolm iii. 94. [2] Widmore, 133. [3] Gesta, 196.

the Dean, and an equally formal declaration from the President that he claims no right to assemble his clergy there. The Bishops for some time met in the Lady Chapel,[1] as Convocation did in 1700 and in 1640, when they sat during forty days after the dissolution of Parliament, being protected by a circle of soldiers posted round the abbey. The northern Convocation is held in Zouch's chapel in York minster, and the opening service is there sung in English in the choir. On the other hand, the Convocation always met in the double-storied Chapter-house of St. Paul's (and hence the names of the 'Upper' and 'Lower House'), until Wolsey, as Legate, in 1523, convened it at Westminster; and to this transference Skelton alludes, when he says—

> Gentle Paul, lay down thy sword,
> For Peter of Westminster hath shaved thy beard.[2]

With all the specious show on paper, and the later erection of Ripon and Manchester, we have in fact fewer Cathedrals than in the early part of the sixteenth century, for Westminster has no longer a bishop, though, like the great churches of Antwerp and Brussels, Caen, Sémur, Brou, Aire, St. Denis, Vendôme, and St. Quentin, it is regarded as an acephalous '*Cathedral*,' from its dignity and imposing size.

It will be remembered that Shakspeare and later writers speak of the 'Cathedral of Westminster,' showing how the old name lingered on just as the men of Coventry still speak of their city. It is said

[1] Lathbury 221, 285. [2] Stanley, 462.

that the poet passed the night in the abbey when he was preparing the gravedigger's scene in 'Hamlet.'

The visitor to Coventry will now see, carefully preserved, a few bases and the lower parts of shafts in a continuous line, within a sunken pit. These are the suggestive remains of a magnificent Benedictine minster, a famous cathedral, rich in historic memories, which Henry VIII., with his usual wanton and wicked violence, ordered to be levelled with the ground: in vain did Bishop Lee intreat and beseech the infamous Cromwell that 'his principal see and head church' might stand, or that 'it might be brought to a collegiate church as Lichfield, and so the poor city have a perpetual comfort of the same.'[1] What a splendid sight must that Cathedral have been, with the noble churches of Holy Trinity and St. Michael, as tradition says that it rivalled even Lichfield in beauty—it was indeed a matchless group! Bath also was reduced to the condition of a parish church,[2] and left in utter ruin until in the time of Elizabeth measures were taken for covering it with a roof. Not a fragment of the monastic buildings survives, and the present church only covers the site of the old cathedral nave. I have found that the sale of the bells produced 98*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*, and the lead removed amounted to 156 fother.[3]

[1] Monast. iii. 199. [2] Act 38 Henry viii. c. 15.
[3] Uncalendered Papers, Land Revenue Office. Return for Somerset.

NON-RESIDENCE.

In the old foundations as chapters were originally composed, all the members were bound to residence, sharing a common endowment or commune, of which every day's absence without leave incurred the stoppage of the daily allowance or quotidian, and share in the weekly and quarterly distribution. The first departure from the rule arose out of the division of a portion of the commune into prebends or separate estates for the several stalls, which I have before mentioned. From that time a canon might get more money by absenteeism from the cathedral to look after his prebend than he lost by the deduction or forfeit of his share in the diminished commune. It was therefore soon found expedient to leave the common estates to a portion of the body who should keep residence on behalf of the whole. Hence the distinction of canons and prebendaries residentiary and non-resident, and gradual usurpation of the powers of the collective chapter, which tacitly surrendered them. The residentiaries were elective from the whole body of canons only, whereas in the new foundations the residentiary stalls were filled directly by the bishops, the crown, or lord chancellor, or were annexed to headships and offices in the universities. The crying evil of non-residence was a constant theme for reproach in the injunctions of bishops and the writings of the earliest period, as, for instance, in the stinging sarcasm of Richard of Devizes, that canons never resided, and praised God through the lips of

their vicars.[1] At Hereford, on the occasion of Henry the Third's visit, neither dean, nor canon, nor vicar was to be found in the city, and the church and establishment were in decay and ruin,[2] and Fitzstephen tells us that on the Feast of the Ascension at St. Paul's, Berengar, the envoy of Becket, found only a vicar as celebrant.[3] The principle of the lesser chapter of residentiaries in the old foundations was to keep their number restricted, and their dividend as large as possible for themselves, and in the new foundations the surplus pro rata in common to the lower choir was detained; and in both the neglect of the choristers' best interests prevailed. In the old foundations the residentiaries possess no special function; they simply keep residence on behalf of the great chapter: but in both foundations the abuse grew up of a delegation of the duties of the whole residentiary body to a single member; and it still exists. In consequence of this vicarious representation, and the creation of distinct prebends (except at Exeter), non-residence with all its evils grew up, and it was found indispensable to insist upon the value of personal residence, and invite it by limiting the share in the distributions and casual offerings to those actually present at Divine service. So after the Reformation the number of residentiaries became curtailed; the power of a voluntary protestation of residence being taken away; and the pretence put forward that the capitular funds could do no more than support a reduced staff. Yet Hacket in his

[1] Chron. 66. [2] Wilkins' Conc. i. 761.
[3] Ed. Giles i. 257.

day speaks of one cathedral maintaining three hundred persons or more.[1]

Then came evasion of residence in both the old and new foundations on the part of residentiaries.[2] At Worcester (1683) one third of the residentiaries was always resident, and twenty-one continuous days constituted annual residence.[3] In 1613 two of them bought themselves off from residence by giving each twenty nobles to a new organ.[4] At York, in the primacy of Sharp, there were sometimes four besides the residentiaries appointed by statute,[5] but Jonathan Trelawney used strong language to negligent canons of Salisbury.[6] By the statutes of York revised in the time of Henry VIII., if there were two or three residentiaries, one was to reside the whole year, and the others for six months; if four or six, two must be perpetually resident; if five, three or two.[7] In 1705 there were eight residentiary houses at Lichfield,[8] at Norwich the term of residence was two months.[9] The year was partitioned off for their separate terms of intermittent appearance, in many cases a single house was only retained for their accommodation; and at last public attention was called to the matter, and, in a sudden and hasty panic of great popular excitement, when root and branch reform was the general cry, whilst pluralities and absenteeism were sanctioned by the new act, the number of

[1] Life 56.

[2] Tanner MS. xxxi. 51. Brit. Critic xxviii. 141–3. Canon. xliv. 1604.

[3] Lamb. MS. 931, fo. 15.

[4] Noake 477.

[5] Life i. p. 119.

[6] Tanner MS. xxx. 51.

[7] Dugd. Mon. vi. 1202.

[8] Lamb. MS. 640, fo. 637.

[9] Lamb. MS. 930, fo. 80.

residentiaries was cut down, and all the stalls of members of the great Chapter (which had practically fallen into desuetude) were disendowed. It was a fatal act of destructiveness; and a spirit of selfish cowardice on the part of Churchmen suffered it to take effect when a timely acknowledgment of shortcomings and a vigorous show of internal reform might have staved off the hands of the spoiler, and the perverse unmitigated mischief of royal and parliamentary legislation which have left our Cathedral establishments so weak and scanty, that a repetition of the process would leave them simply useless and unmanageable. A calculation has been made that the net income of 30 deans, 127 residentiaries, and 120 priest vicars and minor canons, with 600 members of choir and lay servants of the church, amounts to 201,605*l.*[1]

Having traced so far the origin of cathedrals, their internal organization and the various vicissitudes and changes which have attended it; and before proceeding to relate the moving accidents, desecrations, and rough usage to which the structures themselves have been subjected, I shall, in order to preserve the continuity of the subject, mention a few points of interest with regard to members of cathedrals, the mode of their reception, manner of living, minor offices and dress. 'I have not flattered them, but took them to life as well as I could, sitting so far off, and having no better light.'

[1] Yorksh. Union of Ch. Inst. publ. 1872.

ENTHRONISATION OF A BISHOP.

THE method of receiving a Bishop at his enthronisation and visitation in a Secular Cathedral at the west door is noticed in my Memorials of Chichester,[1] and in a monastic Cathedral, by other writers,[2] where he went in procession round the cloisters as at Worcester whilst Salve festa was sung, to a station where he preached, and then celebrated mass. In both cases the Bishop took the Gospel oath at the doors, which were only opened after a challenge of 'Who comes there?' The monks of Canterbury claimed to have the consecration of every Bishop of the province solemnised in the metropolitan church; in 1663 the Dean and Chapter issued their licence for the purpose.[3] When the privilege was disused, to this time the Archdeacon of Canterbury, either in person or by proxy, enthrones the Suffragans of the province.[4] When Nigel was received at Ely all the street through which he passed was hung with curtains, carpets, and tapestry, the monks and clergy meeting him in procession.

Lewis Beaumont, Bishop of Durham, on his way to be enthroned, whilst riding with two Cardinals, was robbed on Wiglesdon moor, and retained as a

[1] P. 59.

[2] Green's Hist. of Worcester, ii., App. ix. xxxiv. v.; Noake, 82–123; Somner, App. 441; see also Tanner MSS. cxlii. ccxxiii. lxxx. 127.

[3] Tanner MS. cxxiii. 4, 6; cxxviii. 51; Gibson's Codex, p. iii.

[4] Ang. Sac. i. 632; Somner's Canterb. App. 323. [1] Godwin, 523.

prisoner at Morpeth until he paid a heavy ransom,[1] and within a comparatively recent period the bishops of Chichester were met, on their return from London, at St. Roche's Hill, by way of congratulation that they had escaped dangers from bad roads and highwaymen. At Salisbury the dean and chapter met the bishop outside the town, and then again assembled at the north gate of the close. The dean and precentor humbly led up the Bishop to the altar, where he gave the benediction, and afterwards to the throne, whilst Te Deum was sung, and finally to the vestry, where he robed, and returned to celebrate mass, with five deacons and five sub-deacons and five rectors of choir;[2] sometimes even kings attended, and nobles, abbots and gentry were always present in great numbers, being afterwards entertained at a grand feast. At Chichester the Bishop offered a noble of gold at the altar, and preached a sermon.[3]

At Ely on one occasion the Bishop removed all the obedientiaries at one stroke,[4] owing to the non-observance of religion, and the dilapidation and wasting of the temporalities, so that otherwise it could not have continued four years;[5] for, as at Worcester and

[1] Possibly in allusion to a similar occurrence, an old ballad of Robin Hood and the Bishop of Hereford, represents the bold outlaw easing a prelate's 'portmantle of five hundred pounds,' and making him sing mass whilst bound to a tree.

'Robin Hood took the bishop by the hand
And he caused the music to play,
And he made the proud bishop to dance in his boots,
And glad he could so get away.'—Ritson, ii. 150.

[2] Maskell, iii. 285.

[3] Med. Reg. of Chich. Proc. R.S.L. IX. N. S. 17.

[4] Noake, 74. [5] Ellis. Orig. Lett. 3 Ser. i. 181.

Rochester, he had the appointment of the principal officers of the Convent.

Before a visitation, so late as 1724, in accordance with the foundation of Bishop Sherborne, the dean and chapter sent a letter enclosing a crown-soleil to the Bishop of Chichester. A prelate when he first entered his church wore his buskins only without boots. When the archbishop of the province came, he was met and saluted by the chapter on horseback outside the city, and again received by them at the close-gate; after the service he gave benediction.

THE MOCK DEAN—INSTALLATIONS—CHOICE AND GOOD-WILL OF CHAPTERS — ANTIPHONS AND ORDER OF STALLS — WEEKLY AND GREAT CHAPTERS — A RESIDENTIARY DINNER—GRACE AT CHRISTCHURCH.

By a most flagrant abuse of power the pope in 1256 bestowed the deanery of York on Cardinal Jordan, a foreigner who could not speak a word of English, and was utterly unworthy of preferment. Fearing resistance, he came into the minster at dinner-time, and, 'inquiring of one whom by chance he found there at his devotions which was the dean's stall, caused two of his own company to deliver him possession thereof.' The canons were amazed at his audacity, the Archbishop refused to admit him or any other Italian to a benefice, and the matter was compounded by the pope's dean retiring on a pension of 100 marks.[1]

The Dean of York at his installation was invested with a gold ring,[2] and was required to feed ten

[1] Godwin, 465–6; Dixon's Lives of the Archbishops, 298; Matt. Par. s. a. 1256. [2] Drake, 557; comp. Tanner MS. cl. 56.

persons daily.[1] It was the custom of the canons residentiary 'to convene on the vigil of All Saints before 9 A.M. in the church, and there invite such as they thought good to dine with them during all the double festivals which should happen in that year's summer residency.'[2] In order to avoid an unseemly contest it was the privilege of the Dean to 'see' when a residentiaryship was vacant, and the first prebendary whom he chose to see was called into residence.[3] The protest of residence is still renewed every year in the chapter house, and if as residentiary he resigns, he yet retains his canonry; and, as at Chichester, in case of illness or absence a deputy from the non-residents may be appointed in his place. The last dean who was elected by a chapter was Dr. Lowe of Exeter; and the bishop, and not the dean and chapter, now has the right of appointment to the residentiaryships in the Old Foundations. The last election of a residentiary by a chapter was at Chichester. The successful candidate was said to have the good will of the Dean and Chapter. The treasurership has been dissociated from the See of Exeter. At St. Patrick's, Dublin, the Dean was elected by the Chapter. At Hereford, absence upon a pilgrimage to Compostella, Rome, or Jerusalem, was allowed to reckon as residence.

As the Psalter was divided among the chapter to be said daily, the Antiphon of a psalm is inscribed on the stalls of the canons at Lincoln and St. Paul's; in the latter cathedral when a canon was promoted

[1] Ibid. 558. [2] Ibid. 569.
[3] Comp. Tanner MS. cxxx. 75.

to a dignity the dean led him to his new stall, and said, 'Friend, go up higher.' So at Lincoln, when a major, who had no prebend annexed to his dignity, was first installed in a prebend, he was thus addressed. In the New Foundations, except at Bristol, Durham, Ely and Carlisle, the dean and residentiary sit on either side of the choir at the west end.

At Lichfield the hebdomadary chapter met on Friday, as it does at Exeter now on Saturday; and at Salisbury the Pentecostal Meeting of the Great Chapter was held in the present century. The Great Chapter seldom is assembled now, except for the election of a Bishop. At Lincoln, every Saturday the provost of vicars in chapter reported all offences committed in choir. The doors were guarded by a verger.

In 1634 a captain, lieutenant, and auncient of the Norwich Company visited Durham, and were entertained by the Dean, along with 'doctors, prebends, and citizens of both sexes and of both kinds—spiritual and layitie.' 'Good dishes and company were of both choice and plenty' at 'the Resident dinner.' 'After halfe an houre's sitting there came a young scholler and read a chapter, during which all discourse ceased. No sooner was itt ended but the grave master of the house begins a cup of wine to all his guests with a hearty welcome which his gentile servitors were careful to see every man pledge to wash down the fat venison, sweet salmon, and other great cheere this large and sumptuous table was furnished with. Thus we spent an hour.' 'A residence dinner,' says Mr. Ornsby, in 1846, 'still presents an

appearance very similar in many respects to that which it did two hundred years ago. The host still presides in his canonical habit of cassock and gown, and the young scholar still comes in at a certain time to read a portion of the Psalter, after which the residentiary addresses him with "Tu autem," to which he responds, "Domine, miserere nostri," a remnant of the old Office of the Benedictio mensæ, in which it occurs. The poculum charitatis then makes its round.'[1] At Christchurch, Oxford, when the dean and chapter dine in hall, a single verse is recited in Greek from the 1st chapter of St. John's Gospel, and then the dean interposes, saying, 'Tu autem.'

THE COMMON TABLE — THE VICARS' COLLEGE — OFFENDING VICARS—VICARS IN THE MILITIA—CARDINALS AND MINOR CANONS—WASSAILING—THE PRÆCULAR—THE FIGHTING GREEN—THE CLOISTERS—RAMSAY AND THE DEMONS—BALL PLAYERS—THE CARNARY—DOG WHIPPER—BURGHERSH CHANTERS—EMBROIDERED SURPLICES.

THE Vicars' Common Table continued to exist at Hereford until 1828: in the cathedrals of the New Foundation it lasted, under the chairmanship of the minor canon-precentor, until the Civil Wars, but at Worcester fell into disuse in 1560. At Hereford, De Foe says, 'next to the cathedral is the college, which still retains its foundation laws, and where the residentiaries are still obliged to celibacy.'[2]

[1] Sketches of Durham, 132. [2] Travels, iii. 267.

Grindal at York ordered vicars 'unmarried to be in commons together in their common hall within Bedern, except those which give attendance of the canons residentiaries.' They were 'daily by course to read after dinner one chapter of the Evangelists, and after supper one of the Acts of the Apostles or St. Paul's Epistles.'[1]

The vicars of Exeter who did not pay due reverence to the dean were to stand in the nave before the Rood over the choir door at all the Hours for a day and a night.[2] All banquetings and drinking in the choir were forbidden in 1358; none, Canon, or Vicar, were to walk about the church except in their habits; and clogs, no doubt a pleasant preservative against cold feet in walking over the pavements strewed with rushes, hay, or ivy leaves, were peremptorily proscribed, possibly on account of their noise.

At Lincoln, 1440, Canons, unless infirm, were not to enter the choir using sticks; and the Vicars who had been in the practice of running and dancing about in leaving the choir, were ordered to bow to the altar at every ingress and recess, and walk orderly. They were forbidden to enter a tavern, or walk alone in the city. At York it was found necessary to enjoin silence on the Sacrists in the vestibule, the part adjoining the choir. In 1583, murmuring when a person came late into choir was forbidden at Hereford. In 1599, Whitgift protested strongly against mustering with the militia the singing-men occupied in the daily service of God.[3] At St. Paul's two of

[1] Works. 149. [2] Archæol. xviii. 410.
[3] Strype's Whitgift, ii. 245.

the Minor Canons were called 'Cardinals of the Choir,' being superintendents of good order,[1] the junior Cardinal, like the sacrist of the New Foundations, was also parish priest of the close;[2] and at Canterbury we find an Archbishop celebrant in 1294 attended by three Deacons and three sub-Deacons, Cardinals.[3] At an enthronisation, cardinal priests were not present because of the pressure of the people round the altar.[4] The only Minor Canons of the Old Foundation, those of St. Paul's incorporated by Richard II. and Hereford, had the privilege of celebrating at the high altar, as representatives of the capitulars.

In Harwood's time the choristers of Lichfield at Christmas went wassailing, calling at the houses of the townspeople, with a cup for a collection of money or drink.[5] At Chichester, till recently, the choristers went about singing at this time, and asked for money. This was a relic of the custom of the boy bishop, attended by his Nicolas clerks, going out after vespers at Childermass, arrayed in their vestments, and calling at the houses in the close, where money, sweetmeats, or food was given to them. At Lincoln and Salisbury, where the original house remains, the choristers were lodged in the close under the charge of a residentiary, and in the Old Foundations were mainly under the direction of the precentor and chancellor. In some cathedrals, as at Chester, Winchester, Gloucester, Wells, and Canterbury, they wear cornered caps, which at Norwich and Ely have red tassels, such as the grammar boys of the Cathedral school, including

[1] Archæol. xliii. 169. [2] Ibid. 178. [3] Somner, App. 441.
[4] Maskell, iii. 295. [5] P. 284.

the choristers, at Peterborough wear; about twenty years since they discontinued the use of bands, which were worn by lay clerks at Worcester in 1702 both in the church and city.[1] Singing men and choristers wore gowns under their surplices at Durham.[2] At St. Paul's the boys wear cassocks now. To the former custom Shakspeare alludes: 'Honesty will wear the surplice of humility over the black gown of a big heart.'[3]

At St. Paul's the Pitancier among the Minor Canons was concerned with the money payments at obits, and the purchase of fuel, and the expenses of repairs and servants' wages.[4] At Chichester the verger who has charge of the cloister is called the Præcular; his other names formerly were Lord Robert (Bp. Sherborne's) Bedeman or Orator, the word precula used in the Exeter Statutes meaning a set of beads. His duty was to take 'charge of the paradise and cloisters, and celebrate mass at the four altars in the choir; in the seventeenth century he purged the churchyard of hogs and dogs and lewd persons that play or do worse therein, and scourge out of the cloister all ungracious boys with their tops, or at least present them to the old man of the vestry.'[5] At Westminster within recollection the College boys made the garth, so beautifully described by Washington Irving, their 'fighting green;' Addison complains of the noise of their games of football, where on a winter's night Ramsay

[1] Noake, 487. [2] Granville's Lett. ii. 161.
[3] "All's Well that ends Well," Act. I. sc. 3.
[4] Archæol. xliii. 195.
[5] Comp. Stat. of Wells, 1338; Lamb. MS. dccxxix. 86.

had plied his divining rod, or mosaical hazel, according to Lilly, in Archbishop Williams' time, and was terrified by a storm raised by the 'demons' who guarded the hidden treasure, and were irritated by the laughter of the bystanders. The gold-seeker, with his company, finding his search fruitless, retired into the abbey-church, when 'the wind grew so fierce, so high, so blustering and so loud, as though the west end would have fallen on them, and the rods became motionless and the torches and candles became extinguished, or burned low and dim.' At Gloucester, when the Parliament met in 1378, and made the whole place look like a fair, the ball playing and wrestling matches utterly bared the grass-plot in the cloisters.[1] At St. David's and Durham the dog-whipper is a statutable servant. At Durham in 1632, dogs ran into the choir and disturbed the service.[2] The homily on keeping clean of churches speaks of 'minstrelsy dogs and hawks profaning them.' The Bedesmen in the New Foundations wear a red Tudor rose on the right side of their gown. The six junior choristers at Lincoln are still called, from their founder, the Burghersh Chanters. Bishop Sherborne, at Chichester, required that his four lay clerks should wear surplices, with his initials worked on the breast and back, in silken thread black and gold.

[1] Chron. Glouc. 53. [2] Granville's Lett. ii. 163; Noake, 119.

COSMO III. AT EXETER—BISHOP SPARROW AND HIS LITTLE FAMILY—CANONS' HABITS AT SALISBURY—GREY AMESS—THE SCARF—COPES AT DURHAM, NORWICH AND WESTMINSTER—PETER MARTYR'S CONSCIENCE—ALBS AT CHESTER—CANONICALS WORN IN GOING TO CATHEDRAL—COPES ENJOINED BY THE CANONS—DEACON AND SUBDEACON.

CAPS of black cloth, low and round, were worn in choir[1] at Canterbury, Peterborough, Ely,[2] St. Paul's, and Exeter in 1337. It is seen upon Dean Berew's effigy at Hereford, and Urswick's brass at Hackney. At Exeter in 1343, and Chichester in 1480, Vicars wore uniform black caps. When Cosmo III., Grand-Duke of Tuscany, visited Exeter Cathedral in 1669, he saw Dr. Sparrow, the bishop, 'con cotta sopra la veste talare nera e manteletta dell' istesso colore, portando in testa un berratino di raso nero simile al camauro pontifizio;' and what surprised him yet more below the throne (as now at Carlisle) was a family pew: 'nel piano della chiesa in un recinto di legno stava la moglie del vescovo e le di lui figliolule che si numeravano fino a nove.' The Canons wore, he says, 'abito canonicale di botta e manteletta di seta nera diversa però di figura da quella del vescovo,' being narrower both before and behind. He says the music was reckoned amongst the best in the kingdom, owing to the good stipends, and compares the chanting of the Psalms to the Gregorian use, adding that they

[1] Raynald, s.a. 1243, n. 41. [2] Bentham, ii. Notes, 79; Gunton, 161.

were accompanied by the organ;[1] at Salisbury, he says, merging the hood and scarf into one, the Canons wore 'un capuccio nero di seta che dal collo per la parte di inanzi ha attaccatta due lunghe falde e di dietro casca come una mezza pianeta;'[2] he calls the Dean's hood 'cappuccio ossia mozzetta.' The real choral habit by statute is a black cope, with the grey almuce[3] over the surplice or rochet. Priests-vicars and minor canons wore surplices, black open copes and almuces of Calaber or dark fur; and at St. Paul's, black hoods, turned up with linen or silk.[4] It must be borne in mind that there were three kinds of copes; the black canonical or choral cope, such as Hoveden mentions St. Thomas wore in going to court;[5] the pluvial or processional cope, often hooded; and the festal cope worn on double festivals, in cappis, and (like the festal alb, worn on feasts in albis,) of extreme richness in material, colour, and ornament. 'To bear the cope' was to act as rector of choir. At Wells, the major canons, from wearing the amess were called infulati.[6] The amice was simply the neckcloth or collar. The collar of sables seen on portraits of Warham and Cranmer, and worn by Parker, was an amess; and so a writer, using popular language in 1546, speaks of bishops and deans 'besides gay grey amesses.' Cardinal Pole at Durham ordered

[1] Grenville Lib. MS. Cosmo III. Viaggio, fo. 42..

[2] Fo. 70: for the low state of Salisbury see Tanner MS. xxx. 51.

[3] Stow's Ann., 605; Grand. Ordin. Exet. Cath. MS. fo. x. Machyn. 145.

[4] Wilkins Conc. iii. 134; Stat. Lichf. Monast. viii. p. 1263; St. Paul's, Dugd. Hist. 345, 353; Exeter, Grandis. Ord. fo. x.; Salisbury, Rock. Ch. of our Fathers, iii. app. 13.

[5] Ap. Savile, ii. 494.

[6] Lamb. MS. 729, fo.105.

[7] Ellis, Orig. Lett. 2 Ser. ii. 177.

the use of the decent (congruus) amice and white surplice for Canons, but did not bind them to wear the black cope reaching to the heels.[1] The hood was abandoned at St. Paul's, Nov. 1, 1562,[2] and the 'graius amictus,' the grey amess, was surrendered by the Canons of 1571 as tainted with superstition,[3] but, as appears by a paper in the 'Spectator,' No. 21, A.D. 1711, the scarf was in use by Prebendaries as their special ornament in the beginning of the eighteenth century, having been the lining of the almuce or amess. The surplice had once been in like ill-report, and discarded by Peter Martyr, ingenious rather than ingenuous, who said that when he was a Canon of Christ Church he never wore the surplice in the choir, because he should have confirmed that of which his conscience approved not of.[4] At Durham, a traveller says, in 1771, 'they showed us the old vestments of the clergy, which on Sundays and other holydays they put on still; they are so rich with embroidery and embossed work of silver, that indeed it was a kind of load to stand under them. Here they have excellent music.'[5] In 1634 they were 'of several works of crimson satin, embroidered with embossed work of silver, beset all over with cherubim curiously wrought to life; a black cope,

[1] Stat. r. 34; Lamb. MS. 688, fo. 30.

[2] Almuces, 'amicis,' are an ornament having authority of Parliament, 24 Hen. VIII. c. 13. sec. 2, 7. See also miniatures in the St. Alban's Book of Life, Brit. Mus., and the engraving in my Memor. of Chichester. p. 40.

[3] Wilkins, iv. 264.

[4] Strype, Ann. I. i. 257; comp. 537, and Life of Parker, App. liv., lxiv.

[5] Defoe, iii. 155.

wrought with gold, with divers images in colours; four other rich copes, and vestments: the richest of all they gave to the king in his progress,' and tradition says it ominously represented David holding Goliath's head.[1]

According to a writer in the 'Quarterly Review,'[2] the abandonment of copes is referred to Warburton, at Durham (prebendary till 1779), who found the stiff high collar ruffle his great full-bottomed wig, till one day he threw off the cope, saying he would never wear it again, and he never did; and the other residentiaries soon afterwards left off their own also. In 1802 they are said to have been worn within twenty years at the altar there on festivals and principal days.[3] Bishop Cosin wore one of plain white satin only, without any embroidery.[4] A similar one occurs at Worcester in 1576, along with 'players gere,' including 'two cappes and the devil's apparell,' for theatrical representations.[5] In 1634, we are told by eye-witnesses, York had its copes of embroidered velvet, cloth of gold and tissue of great value, and Lichfield three old rich copes of cloth of tissue. The effigy of Archbishop Sandys (1588) is vested in a chasuble, and that of Bishop Creyghton (1672) in a cope. Laud ordered six of the latter 'priestly vestments' at Winchester. Another consequence of wearing the wig was that the surplice, hitherto sewn up and put over the head, was made open in front and untidy.

[1] Gent. Mag. 1858, p. 481. [2] xxxii. 273; Ornsby, 18.

[3] Gent. Mag. lxxii. 32; lxxiv. i. 232. For those still preserved see Ecclesiol. xxiv. 272.

[4] Works i. lxxvii.; Eccles. xxiv. 322. [5] Noake, 546.

A cope at Norwich was given at the Restoration,[1] which is probably the date of the copes of violet now at Westminster Abbey; for, as at St. Paul's, those of cloth of gold or silver and tissue were sold May 31, 1643.[2] Pepys, however, mentions cloth of gold worn at Charles the Second's coronation.[3] The cranes for hanging them remained in the old vestry in Dart's time, and cope forcers are in an aisle at York. In 1621 and 1624, the quiremen wore copes at Westminster on special occasions.[4] Copes are still preserved at Salisbury, Carlisle, Ely, and Westminster.[5] At Canterbury, till Cranmer's time, every Bishop had to present a cope of profession at his consecration. The use of the cope recently was revived by the Bishops of London, Ripon, and Lincoln, and the Dean of Ripon. In 1661, all the members of the Cathedral of Chester, habited in their albs, received benediction from the Bishop in the nave; and, after singing Te Deum, conveyed him in procession to his throne.[6] Albs were also worn in 1660 at Dublin.[7] The porter was, by statute, also the barber of the Close, but the custom began to die out in the time of Laud.[8]

[1] Blomefield's Norfolk, iv. 6.
[2] Pepys' Diary, i. 339.
[3] Stanley's Memor. 430.
[4] Widmore, 155; Malcolm, ii. 140.
[5] Sacred Archæology, s. v.
[6] Kennet's Register, i. 537.
[7] Monck Mason's St. Patrick's, 193.
[8] Works, ii. 455.

SECTION II.

MEDIÆVAL RAVAGES AND PROFANITIES.

THE Cathedrals in the north were 'half Church of God, half castle 'gainst the Scot,' and in the south were not exempt from disorders, profanity, and even bloodshed in the age of steel, when they afforded sanctuaries against wrong, and furnished an important part in the work of national civilization. At Winchester the monks actually reversed the order of procession through the cloister again, contrary to the course of the sun, in order to signify anger at a bishop's conduct;[1] but even monastic discipline could not always procure reverence in church, for Robert de Stichill, afterwards Bishop (1260), when a young monk of Durham, was thoughtless and rebellious, and on a Sunday when he was ordered to sit in the midst of the choir on a stool, he was so ashamed of his appearance that he took it by the leg and threw it into the nave among the people.[2] It is also remarkable to read in ancient statutes some of the ordinances of older times, when it was necessary that such indecencies as playing at ball in church, buying and selling, quarrels, blows, and traffic in candles at St. Paul's and Chichester, should be rigorously

[1] Ann. Winton. 46. [2] Rob. de Graystanes, vii. 45.

forbidden. At Ely the merchants and booth-keepers paid for places to erect their booths and shops in the cathedral, selling St. Audrey's laces, of thin silk, to the country girls, among other wares.[1] In some instances the cathedrals and minsters were not formally consecrated, for in 1237 Cardinal Otho issued legantine canons requiring their dedication within two years under pain of interdict.[2] At Ely the parliamenting, or general conversation, which ought to have been restricted to the parlour (*locutorium*) was forbidden at the bishop's door, and that of the refectory, under pain of a repressive diet of bread and water. At Durham merchants uttered their wares in the common parlour.[3] Perhaps the last trace remained at Ripon, where, Ray says, 'St. Wilfrid's Sunday is esteemed by the inhabitants a great festival, and thereon was wont to be held a great fair after Evening Prayer.'[4]

Griffith of North Wales and Earl Ælfgar, on Oct. 24, 1005, entered Hereford and slew seven canons, who defended the doors of the great church which Ethelstan had built, and burned the Minster, with all its ornaments, vestments, and divers relics, and took away its treasures.[5] In 1139 the cathedral was reduced to desolation and solitude, according to the touching picture given by William of Wycumbe.[6] Harold chased away the canons of Wells, and spoiled the church of all ornament, and those remaining were fain to beg their bread.[7] When Siward, bishop

[1] Stewart 191–2. Harpsfield Hist. Anglic. vii. Sæc. c. 24.
[2] Wilkins Conc. i. 649. [3] Rites 44. [4] Itiner. 143.
[5] Simeon, Dunelm. 187; A. S. Chron. i. 157.
[6] Ang. Sac. ii. 313–4. [7] Godwin 291. A. S. i. 559.

of Rochester, died, the cathedral had been so sacked by the Danes, and was in such poor plight, that only five canons were maintained.[1] William I. robbed cathedrals on pretence of finding treasures secreted by his enemies, as Heming relates that he did at Worcester. In 1139 terrified at the approach of Maud, the citizens made the cathedral the storehouse of their goods and furniture, 'to hold their armour to keep their sacks,' says Habyngdon, 'with scarce room left for God's servants.' 'Together with the voices of the choir were mingled the cries of babes and the lamentations of women,' and the altars were stripped of their ornaments, and the vestments 'shut up within the walls.' At dawn on one morning, on hearing that a mighty and strong army was marching from Gloucester, the whole choir issued forth singing, in their surplices and carrying the relics of St. Oswald from gate to gate to repel the enemy.[2] In 1296 Edward I. drove out the eighty monks of Canterbury for harbouring Archbishop Winchelsea, and forbade any one to give them meat or drink until they had paid an enormous fine.[3] On December 29, 1170, whilst the monks were singing vespers, Becket, pursued by his deadly foes, entered by the cloister door into the transept and left open the door saying, the church must not be made a castle: as he was ascending the choir stairs and proceeding to his patriarchal throne, the three knights seized him; he clung to the central pillar until he fell under their swords before St. Benedict's altar; and the place still bears the name of the Martyrdom. In 1264, 'at

[1] A. S. i. 392. [2] Annal. de Theokesb. 51. [3] Thorn. Col. 1965.

vespers, the Earl of Leicester's squires of the devil entered Rochester cathedral with drawn swords, and crucified its sons and all that were found therein with fear and terror, with the Lord who suffers in His elect, and took away by force the gold, silver, and precious things. Many royal charters and other muniments necessary to the Church of Rochester were lost and torn in the Prior's chapel. Some monks were guarded as prisoners in the church. The armed knights on horseback rode about the altars, and dragged away with wicked hands those who took sanctuary at them. O, day of sadness and death! wherein the noble Church, with all it contained, became the spoil of vile fellows, who showed no more respect or reverence to it than the meanest stew or cabin. The holy places—chapels, cloisters, chapter-house, infirmary, and all that was holy—were made into stables, and deluged with the filth of animals and the foulness of dead bodies.'[1] In 1327 the townsfolk having a design to plunder the cathedral under pretence of a right of entrance to obtain the viaticum at any hour of the day or night, on being refused admission, broke down the doors, and besieged the monks until tierce, when they retired.[2] In 1329 the chaplain of the deprived rector of Bromley audaciously appeared at the high altar in surplice and stole, holding a taper and little bell, where he excommunicated his bishop, who of course retaliated by inflicting a severe punishment upon him for his impudence.[3]

[1] Edm. de Hadenham, A. S. i. 351. [2] Ang. Sac. i. 368.
[3] Ang. Sac. i. 369

In 1217 Lincoln Cathedral was treated, by orders given by the Legate to the soldiery, as though its canons were excommunicate, and enemies of the Roman Church and the King of England, and the precentor mourned over a loss of 11,000 marks of silver.[1] Hemingford says that the soldiers used it as stables and cattle pens.[2] In 1216 Faukes de Breauté spoiled the cathedral of Worcester;[3] and with the earl of Salisbury, using the frozen fens as a bridge, did foul deeds which cannot bear recital, and threatened to burn Ely cathedral, until the prior bought the marauders off.[4] Stephen did great injury to Exeter.[5]

On May 4, 1264, the priory gate of Winchester, the adjoining buildings and city gate, with St. Swithin's church over it, were burned by the citizens, and many of the community killed.[6]

In 1273, on the morrow of St. Laurence, the citizens of Norwich, with the women of the city, nearly made an end of the Cathedral; they burned the great gate and parish church, the bell-tower, dormitory, refectory, infirmary, almonry, chamberlain's office, sacristy, guest-house, the Lady-chapel, and other domestic buildings; they burned or stole the reserved sacrament of the altar, with the golden cup pendent over the altar, and the reliques, books, sacred plate, vestments, candlesticks, and ornaments of Divine service, and murdered some members of the house—sub-deacons, clerks, and laymen—in the

[1] Wendover, iv. 25. [2] Gale, ii. 558; Ann. Waverl. 287.
[3] Ann. Wigorn. 407, 416. [4] Matt. Par. ii. 172.
[5] Descript. by Soc. Ant. Lond. 6; Brompton, 1025.
[6] Ann. Winton. s. a.

cloisters and close, and others they dragged away and slew in the city, or put them in prison. For three days they continued their horrible excesses and pillage, only two or three of the monks venturing to remain. The city was in consequence laid under an interdict, and severe measures were taken with the rioters.[1]

Sometimes bishops laid to hands, as at Coventry, where Chesterfield says the cathedral was so rich in gold and silver that the walls seemed too strait to hold the treasures.[2] Robert I. took 500 marks of silver from the beam which supported the shrines.[3]

At Durham, Bishop Philip of Poictiers, because the monks locked him out, turned the Cathedral into a prison-house; he surrounded it with troops, set fire and smoke to the doors and windows, and cut off all supplies of food.[4] When the Prior was commencing the Mass, he sent in clerks, laymen, and priests to seize on the altar linen, and 'there were the monks pulling one way and these intruders another way, a most disgraceful sight.'[5] Bec also was in collision with the convent, which refused to accept his nominee as Prior, whereupon he sent his foresters from Werdale and the men of Tynedale to besiege them; so close was the siege that no victuals could be introduced, the watercourses were cut off, and the gates of the priory and the cloister being broken down, for hree days the monks were kept prisoners in the

[1] Barthol. Cotton. 149, 423; Oxenedes, 241. Matt. Par. Hist. Mag. s. a. 1273. Trokelowe 28. Excerp. Hist. 252.

[2] Ang. Sac. i. 443.

[3] W. Malm. 310.

[4] Ang. Sac. ii. 727.

[5] Ibid. 729.

church. On St. Bartholomew's Day a monk dragged the prior from his stall, when a man of Tynedale averred he would not do the work for gold; and at length, overpowered, the convent accepted the patriarch's new prior.[1] The highest prelates in the land forgot the sanctity of God's house. In St. Katharine's Chapel, in the Abbey of Westminster, Roger, Archbishop of York, when contesting the right of precedence with Richard of Canterbury to sit on the right hand of the Papal Legate, Hugh, though in a provincial council, being unable to secure the first place, fairly sat down in the primate's lap, until he was dragged away and buffetted by the scandalised bishops, whilst verges, pastoral staffs, and fists were freely plied. The discomfited prelate bewailed his ill fate with tears, and appealed to the incontestable witness of his rough treatment, his cope torn in the struggle, before the angry king. 'Sire,' replied the witty bishop of Worcester, 'he has no cause for complaint; as an archbishop he received a lift, and his cope was so old and shabby that it was no wonder that it split.'[2]

Hugh de Nonant, in 1189, so irritated the monks of Coventry, that, whilst he was holding a synod in their church, they rushed upon him and broke his head with a cross, and spilled his blood before the altar.[3] Glastonbury (famous for the Holy Thorn which put forth its white flowers on every Christmas Eve) was a cathedral during the single episcopate of Bishop Savaric (1192–1205) in spite of the loud re-

[1] Ang. Sac. 750. [2] Ibid. 427.
[3] Dugdale, Warw. 102; Rich. of Devizes, 9.

monstrances of the monks, and their appeal to the court of Rome. On one Whitsunday he arrived at the great court-gates, and finding them closed, ordered them to be forced open; the church doors were broken in by the hammer of a blacksmith, and the bars of the treasury smitten through: the canons of Wells, who accompanied him, put on vestments for a procession, and enthroned him in the choir. The cloisters were surrounded by club-men, drawn swords glittered in every place except the infirmary, which became the prison-house of the brotherhood, who were left fasting, and without water. Next day public whippings and meagre diet at Glastonbury, and the cells of the bishop's palace were employed to bring matters to an issue. A century before (1083) the minster had been the scene of even worse violence. A licentious Norman abbot, Turstin, had disgusted the monks with the severity of his rule and the suppression of the old Gregorian music for the use of Fécamp: hot words led to rough blows; soldiers were planted round the chapter house, and the monks fled into the church and crawled round the altar until the Frenchmen following occupied the 'solars between the pillars,' and shot cruel volleys of arrows which struck the crucifix, killing three and wounding eighteen monks: then the English blood was stirred, and down the blood-stained steps the Benedictines rushed upon their cowardly assailants with candlesticks and benches, and fairly routed them.[1]

[1] Ad. de Domesham. 382–391, I. 115; Jo. de Glaston. i. 159, 195; A.S. Chron. ii. 184; W. Malm. 197.

King John in 1211 ordered the Bishop of Bangor, who refused to attend on him, to be seized as he was standing in his vestments before the altar in his cathedral; and the prelate 'saved life and limb as he best could' by a gift of money.[1] At Westminster on St. Lawrence's day, 1378, during the high mass, the Constable of the Tower and another knight, at the instigation of John of Gaunt, attempted with a gross abuse of power to arrest an esquire, a brave soldier under the Black Prince, who had taken sanctuary. He drew out his falchion and gallantly defended himself, 'traversing twice about the monks' choir,' until they beset him on either side, and murdered both him and a monk who tried to save his life. For this atrocious act of sacrilege the abbey church was closed during four months, and the murderers paid a fine of 200*l.* At Norwich Henry Spencer had a contention with his monks for fifteen years; they being too weak for him, at last were glad to give him 400 marks to enjoy their privileges in like sort as heretofore they had done.[2]

On Sunday, 1205, W. de Bramford, sub-dean of Lincoln, was murdered before St. Peter's altar by a former vicar, who was at once torn almost limb from limb by the sub-dean's servants and others, and then dragged forth and hanged outside the city.[3] In 1249, at York, an archdeacon was murdered by a soldier stung with his reproaches.[4] A Frenchman of vicious life, prior of Campania and proctor to the Bishop

[1] Ang. Sac. ii. 650. [2] Godwin, 352.
[3] Ann. of Waverley, 257.
[4] Matt. Par. ii. 511. Comp. Widmore, 104.

of Hereford, was slain at Mass after the Sanctus, before the altar of St. Mary Magdalen, in 1252.[1] At St. Paul's, 1259, two candidates for a vacant stall killed each other in church.[2] The statutes of Wells and York show that the naves were improperly used and defiled by flagrant acts of profanity, and it is clear that they were in other places open to desecration.[3] Prelates and nobles of the highest rank set a bad example by forgetting to control their temper in God's house, as when Bishop Courtenay and the Duke of Lancaster furiously contended about his opinions in St. Paul's, when Wicliffe the heretic was arraigned in 1377. In 1316, when Edward II. held his parliament in the chapter house, his lax favourite, de Spenser, struck one of the Barons de Ros a blow that brought blood in Lincoln minster, but the weak prince remitted the statutable fine of 1,000*l.* and imprisonment.[4] In 1394 we are told that the Cathedral on St. Stephen's Day was polluted, owing to the pride and discords of the clergy.[5] At Michaelmas, 1393, St. Paul's was also polluted with human blood;[6] and in 1400, on the feast of St. Ambrose, the boys were playing at the battle of English and Scots in St. Paul's Churchyard, and the play waxed so hot and those engaged were so many that some were wounded and some were killed.[7] In 1561, a man who made a fray in St. Paul's Cathedral had his ear nailed to the pillory.[8]

[1] Ann. Wigorn. 441; Ann. de Theok. 149.
[2] Comp. Gent. Mag. li. 29.
[3] See Wilkins, Conc. iii. 569. Brook's Lincoln, 4.
[4] J. de Trokelowe, 166.
[5] Ibid. 164.
[6] Ibid. 332.
[7] Machyn. 272.

PILLAGING BISHOPS — WOMEN FORBIDDEN IN THE CLOSE—PURGING OF CHURCHES—DESTRUCTION OF MONUMENTS—STATE OF CATHEDRALS.

In 1226, the papal legate demanded a grant of two prebendal stalls in every cathedral in England.[1] In 1252, the calculation was made that the income accruing to foreign ecclesiastics in England amounted to 70,000 marks, treble the royal revenues.[2] Pope Innocent wished to force a beardless Italian boy into a stall of Lincoln, and gave the precentor's prebend at Salisbury to a boy-legate's nephew.[3] In 1289 all the prebends of Lincoln, with the exception of five, were held by Romans.[4] Henry Beaufort threatened the Cathedral of Worcester with an interdict, except for the viaticum and baptism, in case of any delay in paying Peterpence.[5] The effect of the Reformation in England was at first not altogether beneficial in a religious point of view, but it effectually ended these abuses.[6] It was, in great degree, a political act acquiesced in by the whole nation; a revulsion against the intolerable burden of papal supremacy and taxations, gross laxity of discipline, and prevalence of superstitions; but, as Bacon says, 'men made it, as it were, their scale by which to

[1] Wilkins, i. 546.
[2] Matt. Par. Hist. Mag. s. a. 1252.
[3] Brown. Fasc. rer. ii. 399.
[4] Ann. Wigorn. 501; see Godwin, 465.
[5] Ellis Orig. Lett. 3, Ser. i. 23.
[6] For the state of the clergy, see Neale's Puritans, i. 127, 219, 293, 382, 329, 349; Strype's Parker, i. 189, ii. 81; Whitgift, i. 240; Hallam, Const. Hist. i. 195; Collier, vi. 501, ed. 1840, and that of Churches, Homily for keeping clean of Churches, and of Morals generally; Blunt, Hist. of Reform. c. viii. 143–164. Comp. Cardw. Conf. 103, 210.

measure the bounds of the most perfect religion, taking it by the furthest distance from the error last condemned.' Now a spirit of Erastianism took the place of Popery, bringing in the tyranny of the State; foreign Protestantism regarded all that was ancient as an abomination, and sought to innovate all things, until all discipline was relaxed, the services of the Church neglected, and its fabrics and ornaments given over to havoc: so at York and Lincoln the significant entry was made, 'Abrepto omni thesauro desiit thesaurarii munus.' Bigots like Horne, and Hooper, who would not wear a square cap because his head was round, disreputable men as Poynet and Whittingham, unscrupulous courtiers as Holbeche, who left most of the churches in Lincoln in ruin,[1] and Barlow, intent only on marrying his daughters, which he did, to five Bishops, were evil counsellors in those days, when a serving man was made a prebendary of Salisbury,[2] and mechanics received good stalls. Elizabeth used to lease out prebends.[3] James I. confiscated at Salisbury a prebend to endow a law-professorship at Oxford. It is well known that chalices were converted into drinking-cups, altar-palls into quilts and coverlets, coffins into horse-troughs, and vestments into hall-hangings. At Zaragoza are some of those once used in St. Paul's.[4] At Valencia, there are, according to Ponz, in his 'Viage di Espana,' two altar frontals of beautiful workmanship, which were purchased by two merchants

[1] Camd. ii. 263. [2] Parker's Works, 176; Kennett ii. 377.
[3] Lans. M.S. 166, fo. 69. [4] Ford's Spain, i. 440.

named di Medina, at the sale of the furniture of St. Paul's. Sir J. Harington writes: 'Scarce were five years past after Bath's ruins, but as fast went the axes and hammers to work at Wells. The goodly hall, covered with lead, was uncovered. The Chapel of our Lady, late repaired by Stillington, a place of great reverence and antiquity, was likewise defaced; and, such was their thirst after lead, that they took the dead bodies of bishops out of their leaden coffins and cast them abroad. The statues of brass and all the ancient monuments of kings went to an alderman of London; the statues of kings were shipped from Bristol, but lie in St. George's Channel, where the ship was drowned.'[1]

Bishop Arthur Bulkeley, who spoiled the bishopric of Bangor, sold the five cathedral bells, and 'would go down to the sea to see them shipped, and was suddenly deprived of sight.'[2] At York, the beautiful chapel of St. Mary and the Angels was barbarously destroyed. At Westminster the inhabitants rose in a body to resist the workmen sent by the Protector to demolish the Abbey, in order to convey the materials to Somerset House in the Strand.[3]

At Durham the unworthy 'dean' Whittingham (a man not in orders, like a dean of Wells in 1537), whose infamous character has been lately exposed,[4] either destroyed the tombs in the centerie (cemetery) garth, or removed the stones to make a 'washinge

[1] Nug. Ant. ii. 147. [2] Fuller's Worthies, ii. 57.
[3] Gent. Mag. lxix. pt. i. p. 447.
[4] Camd. Misc. vi. 47; Machyn. 59. Ath. Cant. i. 453, Ath. Oxon. i. col. 159; Froude, v. 201, viii. 92.

howse,' 'for he could not abyde any auncient monuments, nor nothing that apperteyned to any godlie religiousnes;' he steeped beef and salt fish in the holy-water vats, and unleaded the refectory.[1] Whilst his French wife actually burned the famous standard of St. Cuthbert, 'which was never showed at any battle but it brought home the victory,'[2] he flagged his house with the gravestones of the priors,[3] and, like Dean Wilford at Ely, intended to sell the bells for his own profit;[4] exceeding even the atrocities of Horne, who, when Bishop (1570), destroyed at Winchester, partly for the sake of the leaded roofs and partly out of bigotry, the Chapter House, Dormitory, Refectory, Cloisters, and other buildings, which have left the south side of the nave now naked and bare. Hooper at Worcester violated and overthrew altars, organs, bells and chapels in the cathedral in spite of a protest of the dean and chapter.[5] In 1569 the dean and chapter were charged with having melted the organ pipes into dishes and made the case into bedsteads, and intended to divide the copes and ornaments and destroy the clochier and charnel-house.[6] In 1587, it was proved that the copes, vestments, hangings, curtains, and other ornaments, had been partly converted into coverings for the altar and partly converted to their own use, whilst 'great treasures, as crosses, chalices, candlesticks, frames, and other ornaments of gold and silver' had been used to make 'a silver pott and cupp for the Communion table and other plate, as saltes

[1] Rites, xix. xxix. xxx. [2] Hall, 537. [3] Camden, iii. 119.
[4] Rites, 34. [5] Noake, 529. [6] Ib. 536.

and cuppes of silver and gwilt for Mr. Dean and common hospitalitie.'[1] Repps at Norwich, Scory at Hereford, and Voysey at Exeter, wrecked the palaces and impoverished the revenues; and Gauden said of the latter see, that 'it had a high rack and a bad manger.'[2] Dean Gardiner at Norwich destroyed the Lady Chapel (c. 1580). The palaces and cathedrals were alike in danger; bishop Warton left only the palace of St. Asaph to his successors; and bishop Barlow, to provide for his children, stripped off the lead from his palace at St. David's and Wells, and would, as appears by one of his letters in the Cottonian Library, have pulled down the very cathedral church of St. David had he stayed there.[3] Possibly Elizabeth may have had such outrages in view when she ordered that all priests in cathedral churches, who had wives, to have them 'lie no more within that place.'[4] Thorndike also wished cathedrals to be communities of celibates.[5] To the convenience of the prebendaries' wives at Durham Wyatt was within an ace of sacrificing the Galilee, and the beautiful initials and miniatures of many of the priceless MSS. in the cathedral library were cut out by a nursemaid of Dr. Dobson, one of the Chapter, in order to amuse some fractious children on an inclement day.

At Canterbury, Parker, in 1567, doubted 'whether the married sort or virginal pastors had done most

[1] Noake, 543. [2] Godwin, 337.
[3] B. Willis, St. Asaph, i. 99.
[4] Strype's Annals, i. 405; see also Gent. Mag. lv. 201.
[5] Works, v. 51, 576; comp. Noake, 531.

spoil' in plate and copes.[1] At Wells there are two corbel-busts, 'representing a king, holding in his hands a child falling, and a bishop with a woman and children about him. There was a tradition that when there should be such, then the Church should be in danger of ruin; the child, they said, was King Edward, and the fruitful bishop Dr. Barlow, the first married bishop.'[2] Ray says, these figures between two pillars near the west wall were carved after a plate given by the 'abbot after the death of K. Ina,' who also wept when he gave the interpretation of their meaning; he describes them as the head of a king with priests on each side tumbling headlong; and a bishop between a woman and child.[3]

Harding well asked Bishop Jewel how he could reconcile the destruction of the canopy over the altar while 'his seat had a solemn canopy of painted boards spread over his head?' and Ridley, at St. Paul's, broke down 'the wall standing by the high altar's side,' that is, the exquisite reredos.[4] 'The Church was altogether scoured of gay gazing sights, such as gross fantasy was greatly delighted with. A woman said to her neighbour' [we are told in the Homily of the Place and Time of Prayer], 'Alas, gossip, what shall we now do at church since all the saints are taken away, since all the goodly sights we were wont to have are gone, since we cannot hear the like piping, singing, chanting, and playing upon the organs that we could before.' With 'the super-

[1] Corr. 304.
[2] Nugæ Antiq. ii. 148.
[3] Itiner. 181.
[4] Works, 324.

stitious and idolatrous manners' and ornaments restored by the piety of the days of Queen Mary, went altars, sculpture, tombs, stained glass, carvings, screens, paintings, pictures, and other furniture of unrivalled value. All monuments of this character were to be taken down, so 'that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glass windows, or elsewhere within churches.'[1] 'Polluted churches were purged' with a vigour and haste so violent, wholesale, and destructive, that within a year the Queen[2] had to issue a proclamation against persons 'ignorant, malicious, or covetous, who had of late years spoiled and broken monuments of stone and metal,' to regret 'churches at the present day, spoiled, broken, and ruinated to the offence of all noble and gentle hearts,' and forbid in future 'the defacing of any monument, tomb, or grave,' 'the breaking of images not erected for any religious honour,' and 'the defacing of any image in glass windows.' The sacrilegious hands were stayed, but a worse destruction had befallen 'all antiphoners, missales, grayles, processionalles, manuelles, legendes, pies, portasies, jornalls and ordinalles after the Use of Sarum, Lincoln, Yorke, or any other private use, and all bokes of service which were ruthlessly defaced and abolished.'[3]

By chap. x. 3 & 4 Edw. VI. 1549, all images of stone, timber, alabaster, or earth, graven, carved, or painted,

[1] King Edward VI.'s Inj. 1547, n. 28; Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions, 1559, n. 23.

[2] Weever's Funer. Mon. c. x. p. 51.

[3] Edward VI.'s Order, 1549. See also Collier Eccles. Hist. v. 417, 496.

were to be defaced and destroyed, and all the old service-books to be burned; the only exception being in favour of effigies of kings, nobles, or other dead persons. By 1 Edw. VI. c. 14, the crown unrighteously seized all the revenues of chantries and chapels, except in cathedral and some other specified churches, and by 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 37, the exportation of bell-metal was fortunately prohibited. According to tradition the altar-plate of Durham is still safely buried within the old abbey church, and at Bath even in the beginning of the last century, the sacristy was discovered with all its copes, albes, and chasubles meetly lining the walls; but as soon as the air reached them they crumbled into dust.[1]

The state of Canterbury Cathedral at the time of Archbishop Parker's Visitation in 1573 was eminently unsatisfactory. A great many old copes remained, 'of which the dean had away with several,' whilst Mr. Bullen, one of the prebendaries, a hasty man who struck people blows, threatened to nail him to the wall with his sword;[2] and in 1597 archbishop Whitgift found that 'some clerks had their wives or women-servants in their chambers in the dormitory,' and 'children, girls as well as boys, besides the choristers, were taught in the church.'[3]

A MS. diary of the year 1634 gives us an interesting insight into the condition of cathedrals. At Lincoln there was 'solemn service, the organs with other instruments suited to most excellent voices:' at Durham, 'the sweet sound and richness of a fair

[1] Hist. of Somerset, i. 58. [2] Strype's Parker, ii. 301.
[3] Strype's Whitgift, ii. 385.

organ and the orderly, devout, and melodious harmony of the choristers:' at Lichfield, 'the organs deep and sweet:' at Winchester, 'the organs sweet, tunable, and sweetly played on, the choristers skilful, and the voices good:' and at Exeter, 'the delicate, rich organ with viols and other sweet instruments and tunable voices making a melodious and heavenly harmony able to ravish the hearers' ears,' suggest a most beautiful picture of devotion and the beauty of holiness. Unhappily, all the choirs were not 'indifferent.' Peterborough Cathedral was in 'a deplorable condition' and 'Carlisle was like a great wild country church; and as it appeared outwardly so was it inwardly, neither beautified nor adorned one whit; the organs and voices did well agree, the one being like a shrill bagpipe, the other like the Scottish tone, the sermon in the like accent. The Communion was administered and received in a wild and irreverent manner.' About a century later matters were not improved in the border-city, for in 1756 Hume wrote on an inn-window at Carlisle,

Here godless boys God's glories squawl.

RAVAGES IN THE CIVIL WARS—WORCESTER—ST. ASAPH—LICHFIELD—PETERBOROUGH—SALISBURY—BRISTOL—HEREFORD—CHESTER—CARLISLE—LINCOLN—WINCHESTER—DURHAM—LLANDAFF—EXETER—ROCHESTER—CHICHESTER—ST. PAUL'S—CANTERBURY—WESTMINSTER—NORWICH—YORK.

In the time of the great troubles in 1644 the Parliament commenced a new spoliation of Cathedrals,

when an ordinance was made that from November 1 all Communion-tables should be removed from the east end of every church and all rails taken away, with all tapers, candlesticks, and basins, altars, tables of stone, crucifixes, crosses, images, and pictures.[1] Archbishop Tenison rightly designated these atrocities as 'high superstition;'[2] and one writer, even when barely alluding to their execrable profanities with regard to the sacred vessels, was compelled for very decency to veil the account in Latin.[3]

The savage atrocities committed by the Parliamentary reformers in 1646 at Worcester are too foul to record here. 'The organs being two fair pair, all the bishops' beards, noses, fingers, and arms and all, if they had any white sleeves, were broken. King John and the other kings that lie interred there have not passed better in this quarrel than with cracked crowns.'[4] On Sept. 24, 1642, their whole army, under the Earl of Essex, effected 'the profanation of the Cathedral, destroying the organ, breaking in pieces divers beautiful windows wherein the foundation of the church was lively historified with painted glass, and barbarously defacing divers fair monuments of the dead. And, as if this were not enough, they brought their horses into the body of the church, keeping fires and courts of guard therein, making the quire and side-aisles with the font the common-places wherein they did their easements of nature. Also to make their wickedness the more complete, they rifled the library with the records and evidences

[1] Harl. Miscellany, v. 440–2. [2] British Critic, xxv. 392
[3] Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, i. 26. [4] Carte's Letters, i.

of the church, tore in pieces the Bibles and service-books pertaining to the quire, putting the surplices and other vestments upon their dragooners, who rode about the streets with them.'[1] At York the brasses, enriched with images of bishops and others, 'which formerly shone like embroidery,'[2] and had been spared by the iconoclasts of the earlier period of the Reformation, were stripped and pillaged to the minutest piece of metal by those who imitated their depredations and scandalous zeal, or rather love of lucre, during the civil wars; so that out of 113 epitaphs not ten were left, in the nave alone. Yet York was of all 'in the great war the best preserved from the fury of the sacrilegious by composition with the rebels.'[3] Fuller says, 'some who had the cathedral in their command procured the repairs thereof: no doubt he doth sleep the more comfortably, and will die the more quietly for the same.'[4] Gent records a tradition, that if his death had not fortunately frustrated his wicked project, a certain disciple of the Commonwealth had obtained a grant to pull down the incomparable Chapter-house of York as useless.[5]

At St. Asaph the Cathedral was profaned by Milles, the postmaster, who lived in the palace and sold wine there, and kept his horses and oxen in the nave, his calves in the throne and choir, and removed the font to his garden to serve as a hog-trough.[6]

At Lichfield 'they demolished all the monuments, pulled down the curious carved work, battered in pieces the costly windows, and destroyed the evidences

[1] Short View of the late Troubles, 557.
[2] History of Church of York, 1768, 35. [3] Evelyn's Diary, ii. 89.
[4] Worthies, ii. 537. [5] York. Cath. 15. [6] B. Willis, Asaph, i. 115.

and records; they stabled their horses in the body of the church, kept courts of guard in the Cross-aisle, broke up the pavement, and polluted the quire with their excrement; every day hunting a cat with hounds through the church, and delighting themselves with the echo from the goodly vaulted roofs; and, to add to their wickedness, brought a calf into it, wrapt in linen, carried it to the font, sprinkled it with water, and gave it a name in scorn and derision of that holy Sacrament of Baptism.' When Prince Rupert recovered the church by force on April 21, 1643, the governor, Russell, 'carried away the Communion plate and linen, with whatsoever else was of value.' The injury done to the Cathedral was estimated at 14,000*l.*, including the organ, the stalls, and the exquisite tomb of Lord Paget, which had been made in Italy. The vestry and chapter-house were the only buildings which had roofs to shelter them, the west front was shattered, and the great steeple beaten down; and the wreck caused by the effects of 2,000 shot of great ordnance and 1,500 hand-grenades was only partially undone by the continuous labours of eight years devoted to the rebuilding.[1] Fuller records the remarkable fact that 'the plague which had raged in the close at the first shooting of cannon at the siege thereof did abate.'[2]

At Peterborough the beautiful reredos and a magnificent cloister were destroyed. Cromwell's horsemen in April, 1643, 'broke open the church-doors and pulled down two pair of organs; those which stood on the rood-loft they stamped and trampled

[1] Shaw's Staffordshire, i. 242-3. [2] Worthies, ii. 392.

on; they then tore in pieces all the common prayer books in the choir, and broke down all the seats, stalls, and wainscot canopies behind them; the great brass candlestick hanging in the middle of the choir, containing about a dozen and a-half of lights, with another bow candlestick about the brass eagle—these were broken in pieces, and most of the brass carried away and sold. They burned the altar-rails and threw down the Holy Table. On July 13 another gang of marauders plundered the vestry, and dragged down the stately screen, well wrought, painted, and gilt, which rose up as high almost as the roof of the church in a row of three lofty spires, with other lesser spires growing out of each of them. Over this place, in the roof of the church, in a large oval yet to be seen, was the picture of our Saviour seated on a throne, one hand erected and holding a globe in the other, attended with the four Evangelists and Saints on each side with crowns in their hands; some of the company espying this, cried out and said, Lo! this is the God these people bow and cringe unto! this is the idol they worship and adore! Hereupon several soldiers charged their muskets and discharged them at it, and by many shots at length quite defaced it. They robbed and rifled the tombs and violated the monuments of the dead, broke down the hearse of Queen Catherine, insulted the tomb of Mary Queen of Scots, the tomb of Bishop Dove, and that of Sir Humphrey Orme, whose effigy they carried on a soldier's back to the public market-place, there to be sported withal, a crew of soldiers going before in pro-

cession, some with surplices, some with organ-pipes, to make up the solemnity. The exquisite painted glass in the Cathedral and cloisters was destroyed along with the manuscripts and records in the chapter-house; and the carved work in the fair and goodly church, which was quite stript of all its ornamental beauty and made a ruthful spectacle, a very chaos of desolation and confusion, nothing scarce remaining but only bare walls. Many fair buildings were likewise pulled down and sold by public auction, the cloisters, the chapter-house, the library, the bishop's hall, and chapel at the end of it. The lead that came off the palace was fatal, for the merchant that bought it lost it all and the ship which carried it on her voyage to Holland. Mr. Oliver St. John, Chief Justice then of the Common Pleas, being sent on an embassy into Holland by the powers that governed then, requested the boon of them at his return that they would give him the ruined church or minster at Peterborough; this they did accordingly, and he gave it to the town for their use, to be employed as a parochial church.'[1] The leiger book was preserved by the chaunter, who gave a soldier ten shillings for it, informing him that it was a Latin bible! In order to make the necessary repairs, the magnificent Lady Chapel, which occupied a position similar to that of Ely, was wholly destroyed.

At Salisbury, however, the churchmen in some manner preserved their minster from falling into

[1] Gunton's Peterborough, Supplement, 333–339, Pref. i.

dilapidation when the services were discontinued, the revenues confiscated, and all its members dispersed; as Dr. Pope, in his Life of Seth Ward, relates, workmen were often seen employed in making repairs, and when questioned by whom they were sent, were accustomed to reply: 'Those who employ us will pay us; trouble not yourselves to enquire; whoever they are, they do not desire to have their names known.' Still, there was ample destruction of stained glass, of carving in the chapter-house, and statues on the west front.[1] Bristol Cathedral had a worse fate, for every indignity, which was supposed to be a profanation of sacred places, was offered; furnaces were erected on the side of the altar, and even the bedroom in which the Bishop's wife lay, at a time when common decency and humanity should have preserved her from insult, was unroofed for the sake of the lead.[2] At Hereford, where the loyalists gave false alarms to the besiegers by 'lights on the steeple,'[3] the chapter-house was unroofed in order to furnish lead for some portions of the castle. At Worcester, on July 15, 1646, they slung up a little piece of brass ordnance to the top of the College Church to gall the enemy.[4] On August 24, 1651, the young king and his council of war watched from the cathedral tower the preparations for the coming battle.[5]

At Chester, in February, 1646, the Parliamentary army defaced the choir, broke the painted glass, and

[1] Hoare's New Sarum, 405. [2] Sayer's Bristol, ii. 91.
[3] Duncumb. i. 229. [4] Noake, 563. [5] 86, 566.

destroyed the organ and font.[1] Wells was a 'grateful prey to rapine and sacrilege.'[2]

The choral service suffered in the great rebellion a loss which it never recovered; in 1634, at Durham there were twelve sub-canons, thirty singing men, and ten boys; at Worcester twenty petty canons, twenty singing men, and ten boys; at Canterbury, six petty canons, eighteen singing men, and forty boys; at Winchester, twenty-three, and at Exeter, 16 singing men.[3]

At Carlisle, during the progress of the Reformation, the statues were torn from the canopies of the stalls, and ancient glass, brasses, and monuments shared in the ruin. In June, 1645, the Parliamentarians destroyed nearly the whole of the nave, the cloisters, the dormitory, the chapter-house, the prebendal houses, and part of the deanery, in order, as Sir Walter Scott says, to 'construct a receptacle for the sanguinary agents of civil strife and discord.' The marks of the bullets fired by Leslie's idle soldiers in 1646, for amusement, are still visible;[4] but the men of Prince Charles's garrison (to whom they have been carelessly attributed) were disarmed before they were confined here in 1745. James II. has the discredit of having sliced off the nose of Sir William Waller's effigy at Bath; if he did, it was only an act of retributive justice for that unworthy knight's mutilation of cathedrals.[5]

At Lincoln, in 1641, the soldiers entered with axes and hammers and shut themselves in till they had

[1] Lysons' Chester, 568. [2] Brane's Travels, p. 31.
[3] Cathedrals prior to the Civil Wars, Gent. Mag. 1858.
[4] Purday's Carl. 23. [5] Warner's Bath, 257.

rent and torn off some barge-loads of metal;[1] the Cathedral was so miserably ravaged that not one brass plate or monument escaped the mad rage of these men: at Peterborough the case was the same, and at Chichester a single brass of the Elizabethan period is all that is preserved: at Norwich only one remains. Such was the fruit of the time when, as Brane says, 'there was a new martyrdom upon the saints in effigie.'[2]

'The chief Cathedrals of England have tasted this abominable reformation, particularly that of Lincoln hath lately been prophaned by Cromwell's barbarous crew of Brownists, who have pulled down all the brave carved works there, torn to pieces all monuments and tombs, laid them even with the ground, shot down all the scutcheons and arms of such lords and gentlemen as were benefactors or buried there; and, for which all Christians will for ever abhor them, have filled each corner of that holy place with their own and horses' dung in so horrid a measure as the Lord Kimbolton would turn away his groom that should suffer his worst stable to lie half so nasty as he and Cromwell have made the House of God.'[3]

'The rebels under Sir Wm. Waller, on Tuesday, 12th of December, 1642, being masters of Winchester, instantly fall upon the close; they break into some of the Prebends' houses and plundered their goods; Wednesday and Wednesday night being spent in plundering the close. On Thursday morning between

[1] Evelyn's Diary, i. 92. [2] Travels, 147.
[3] Mercurius Aulicus, Sept. 16, 1644.

9 and 10 of the clock they violently break open the Cathedral Church, and being entered, to let in the tide they presently open the great west doors, when the barbarous souldiers, gready to rob God and pollute His temple as if they meant to invade God as well as His possession, enter the Church with colours flying, their drums beating, their matches fired—and that all might have their part in so horrid an attempt, some of their troops of horse also accompanied them in their march, and rode up through the body of the Church and quire until they came to the altar, where they begin their work. They rudely pluck down the Table and break the rail, and afterwards carrying it to an ale-house, they set it on fire, and in that fire burned the books of common prayer, and all the singing books belonging to the quire. They threw down the organ and break the stories of the Old and New Testament curiously cut out in carved work, beautified with colours, and set round about the tops of the stalls of the quire. From hence they turn to the monuments of the dead, which they utterly demolish; others they deface. Bishop Fox his Chapel they utterly deface; they break all the glass windows; they demolish the monuments of Cardinal Beaufort, they deface the monument of William of Wainflete. From hence they go into Queen Mary's Chapel, so called because in it she was married to King Philip of Spain; here they brake the Communion-table in pieces, and the velvet chair whereon she sat. On the north side of the quire they threw down the chests wherein were deposited the bones of the bishops; the like they did with the bones of William

Rufus, of Emma, Hardicanute, and Edward, to scatter over the pavement of the Church. Those windows which they could not reach with their swords, muskets, or rests, they broke to pieces by throwing at them the bones of kings, queens, bishops, confessors, and saints, so that the spoil done will not be repaired for a 1,000*l.* They seize upon all the Communion plate, the Bibles and service books, with hangings, large cushions of velvet, all the pulpit clothes, some whereof were of cloth of silver, some of cloth of gold. They break up the muniment house and take away the common seal of the church and a fair piece of gilt plate, they tear the evidences of their lands and cancel their charter. The troopers, because they were most conspicuous, ride through the streets in surplesses, with such hoods and tippets as they found, carrying common prayer books in one hand and some broken organ-pipes, together with mangled pieces of carved work.'[1]

At Winchester College it was long the custom to remind each scholar who subscribed to the Statutes of the chivalric loyalty of Col. Fiennes and Mr. Love, who with drawn swords on this occasion preserved the tomb of William of Wykeham.

At Durham, in 1650, the Scots in pursuit of Dean Ballanqual, as the author of King Charles's Declaration, revenged themselves on the monuments and destroyed the stalls, when a thistle on the clock-face preserved it from their hands. The cathedral was made 'their prison, and quite defaced within, for there was to the number 4,500, of which most of them

[1] Merc. Rust. iii.

perished and died there in a very short space, and were thrown into holes by great numbers together.'[1]

The library of Llandaff was destroyed by the rebels and 'part of it burned with a great heap of Common Prayer-books at Cardiff, where the cavaliers of the county and the wives of several sequestered clergymen were invited to the castle in a cold winter's day to warm themselves by the fire which was then made of the books.'[2]

At Exeter, having the church in their possession, the rebels made 'it a common jakes, sparing neither the altar nor the pulpit. The holy and blessed name of Jesus over the Communion-table they expunge as superstitious; the pictures of Moses and Aaron they deface; they tear the books of common prayer to pieces and burn them at the altar. They made the church their storehouse where they kept their ammunition and powder, and planted a court of guard to attend it; the church they defiled with tippling and taking tobacco; they brake and defaced all the glass windows, they struck off the heads of all the statues on all monuments; they brake down the organs, and taking 200 or 300 pipes with them, in a most scornful contemptuous manner went up and down the street piping with them. The members of the church were threatened to have their houses plundered and their persons sent on shipboard, where they must expect usage as bad as at Argier or the gallies.'[3] The Cathedral was divided by a wall for the services of the rival sects of In-

[1] Rites, xix. xxviii.; Hutchinson, ii. 156. [2] B. Willis, Llandaff, 32.
[3] Merc. Rust. iv.

dependents and Presbyterians, the cloisters were destroyed, and a cloth mart established in the garth.

At Rochester the rebels 'violated the monuments of the dead, broke down the altar rails, seized on the velvet covering of the Holy Table, which they removed into the lower part of the church; and one of them discharged a pistol or carbine at one of the residentiaries who endeavoured to restrain their fury.' The Church was 'almost abolished' said Brane, 'by sacrilegious Boutefous.'[1]

At Chichester, on Holy Innocents' Day, 1642, they 'plundered the Cathedral, seized upon the vestments and ornaments of the church, together with the consecrated plate serving for the altar; they left not so much as a cushion for the pulpit, nor a chalice for the Blessed Sacraments; the common soldiers brake down the organs, and dashing the pipes with their pole-axes, scoffingly said, Hark how the organs go. They brake the rail, which was done with that fury that the Table itself escaped not their madness. They forced open all the locks, whether of doors or desks, wherein the singing men laid up their common prayer books, their singing books, their gowns and surplices; they rent the books in pieces, and scattered the torn leaves all over the church even to the covering of the pavement; the gowns and surplesses they reserved to secular uses. In the south cross ile the history of the church's foundation, the pictures of the Kings of England, and the pictures of the Bishops of Selsey and Chichester, begun by Robert Sherborn the 37th Bishop of that see, they defaced

[1] Travels, 285. See Life of Hacket edited by me, p. 45.

and mangled with their hands and swords as high as they could reach. On the Tuesday following after the sermon, possessed and transported by a bacchanalian fury, they ran up and down the church with their swords drawn, defacing the monuments of the dead, hacking and hewing the seats and stalls, and scraping the painted walls; Sir William Waller and the rest of the commanders standing by as spectators and approvers of these barbarous impieties. The subdeanery church was then pillaged. About five or six days after Sir Arthur Haselrigg demanded the keys of the chapter-house, where the remainder of the church plate was; he commanded his servants to break down the wainscot round about the room, which was quickly done, they having brought crows of iron for that purpose. Sir Arthur's tongue was not enough to express his joys, for, dancing and skipping, he cried out, There boys, hark! hark, it rattles, it rattles; and, being much importuned by some members of that church to leave but a cup for administration of the Blessed Sacrament, answer was returned by a Scotchman standing by, that they should take a wooden dish.'[1]

'What say our leeches,' asked Bishop Hacket, the eloquent defender of Cathedrals before Parliament, 'to the rotting of horses [of Colonel Jephson's regiment] three years together in stalls and pastures? Nothing! But observant Christians note that it began upon the jades that were stabled in the goodly Cathedral of St. Paul's.'[2] The stalls were broken down, the brasses torn up, tombs destroyed, sawpits

[1] Merc. Rust. 139-143. [2] Plume's Century, 826.

were dug for cutting up the beautiful woodwork. The east end was divided off by a brick wall to form a conventicle, and a door was made through one of the north windows; shops were built in the portico, and the statues of the kings thrown down from the balustrade.[1] Oliver Cromwell entered into a negotiation with a chief rabbi for authorising the immigration of Jews from Holland in consideration of receiving 200,000*l.* and granting old St. Paul's to become a synagogue.[2]

On August 26, 1642, 'the troopers fought with God Himself in the quire at Canterbury,' so profane Culmer opens the account — with the proverbial scurrility of a Puritan—of how he spoiled that 'malignant cathedral.' 'They hewed the altar rails all to pieces and threw their altar over and over and over down the three altar steps, and left it lying with the heels upward; they slashed some images, crucifixes and prick-song books, and one greasy service book and a ragged smock' (too coarse for transcription) 'called a surplice, and began to play the tune of "the zealous soldier" on the organs or case of whistles which never were in tune since. The soldiers afterwards sang Cathedral prick-song as they rode over Barham Downs towards Dover with prick-song leaves in their hands, and lighted their tobacco pipes with them.' On December 13 a worse destruction befel the Cathedral: the brutal narrator sneers at the touching pleading of one of the brave prebendaries and his equally courageous wife; windows and statues were broken in pieces. 'A

[1] Malcolm, iii. 82. [2] Ibid 181.

minister with a whole pike rattling down proud Becket's glassy bones,' some of the bystanders wishing that he might break his neck; crosses on the steeples; the goodly painted glass, 'for which many thousand pounds had been offered by outlandish Papists;' the superb figure of St. Michael holding a cross of brass over the south door under Bell Harry steeple, dragged down by one hundred men with a rope; an image of our Lord at the gate riddled with musket shots; 'the glorious glory cloth, the golden tabernacle work, the costly copes, basins, and candlesticks and rich hangings' were involved in one ruin as idols, with every mark of insult and coarse profanity, as 'a blessed work of reformation.'[1] 'The windows were greatly battered and broken down; the whole roof, with that of the steeples, the chapter-house, and cloister, extremely impaired and ruined both in timber work and lead; water-pipes, and much other lead cut off; the choir stripped and robbed of her fair and goodly hangings; the organ and organ-loft, Communion table, and the best and chiefest of her furniture, with the rail before it and the screen of tabernacle work richly overlaid with gold behind it; goodly monuments shamefully abused, defaced, and rifled of brasses, iron grates and bars.'[2] They 'threw the altar over and over down the three altar steps, and left it lying with the heels upward;' the newly-erected font was pulled down, and brasses torn off from the ancient monuments, and whatsover there was of beauty or decency in the holy place was

[1] Culmer's Cathedral News, 19–24. [2] Prof. Willis, Arch. Hist. 103.

despoiled. The horrible language employed by these marauders who also destroyed the arras hanging in the choir representing the whole story of Christ—which they stabbed, with imprecations too revolting to repeat here—broke down the eagle, and strewed the pavement with the leaves of the service books, may be read in 'Mercurius Rusticus,' p. 119, in a letter written by the Subdean to Lord Holland.

The like abominations in 1642 at Westminster included the hunting the hare in surplices through the aisles, the smoking and drinking and eating at the altar, the mutilation of monuments, the pawning of the organ-pipes at an adjoining ale-house, the mockery of a coronation by a low buffoon, the hewing down of carved work and the trampling of ancient glass under the jackboots of the godless troopers. In 1641 the puritan Burgess beset the church in order to seize the regalia, and was beaten off by the servants and scholars of the college, headed by the gallant dean.

At Norwich, 'a plundering commission, relying on the support of their soldiers, defaced monuments, broke windows, filed bells, dashed in pieces carved works, and reaved the brasses off the stones, the Cathedral affording them above a hundred; thereby defacing the memory of the ancestors of many of the most ancient and worshipful families in the county (including the effigies of two bishops and the chapel of the Hobarts), pulling down the pulpit in the Green yard. What clattering of glasses, what beating down of walls, what wresting out of irons

and brass from the windows and graves, what defacing of arms, what demolishing of curious stonework, what pilfering of the destroyed organ pipes; vestments, both copes and surplices, together with the leaden cross which had been newly sawn down from over the Green yard pulpit, and the singing books and service books were carried to the fire in the public market-place; a lewd wretch walking before the train in his cope trailing in the dirt, with a service book in his hand, imitating in an impious scorn the tune, and usurping the words of the Litany. The Cathedral was filled with musketeers, drinking and tobacconing as freely as if it had turned ale-house. Superstitious pictures were also burned in the market-place, and the seals of the court fixed where the altar stood.'[1] In 1635, Brereton saw all the windows of the Chapter-house of Wells glowing with the 'history of the Bible.[2] The total destruction of Gloucester in 1657 was only narrowly prevented; the tackle having been put about the tower and Lady Chapel for their demolition.

DANGERS FROM MOBS, THIEVES, AND INCENDIARIES—THE BRAVE BISHOP AND VERGER OF BRISTOL—BUTLER'S PROPHECY.

At Wells, July 1, 1685, the Duke of Monmouth's Protestant followers tore the lead from the roof of the cathedral to make bullets, and wantonly defaced the ornaments of the building. Lord Grey of Warkworth with difficulty preserved the altar from the

[1] Blomefield's Norfolk, iii. 389–90. [2] Travels, 176.

insults of some ruffians who wished to carouse round it, by taking his stand in front of it with his sword drawn.[1]

In the middle of August, 1683, when the duke of Monmouth came to Chester, the mob forced the doors of the cathedral, destroyed most of the painted glass, burst open the vestries, rent the surplices and hoods to rags, and carried them away; beat to pieces the font, pulled down the ornaments, injured the organ, and committed other enormous outrages.[2] In the pressure of the mob which broke in amid great alarm and confusion to witness the funeral of Pulteney, Earl of Bath, at night in Westminster Abbey, the spectators who stood upon the tomb of Edward I. tore down the canopy, to defend themselves with the broken fragments, and the gentlemen drew their swords and defended the Confessor's Chapel, standing on the stairs; 'a dreadful conflict,' Carter says, 'ensued until darkness closed the scene.'

On Dec. 23, 1810, at midnight, the vestry of St. Paul's was robbed of its valuable altar plate, including four large silver-gilt candlesticks; the robbers were never discovered. Such losses were rare in mediæval times, for besides having watching lofts,

> Our ancestors, within the still domain
> Of vast cathedral or conventual church,
> Their vigils kept, where tapers day and night
> On the dim altar burned continually,
> In token that the House was evermore
> Watching to God.

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[1] Macaulay, i. 602. [2] Hemingway, ii. 242.
[3] Gent. Mag. 1817, i. 33, 1799 ii. 859.

Sir Christopher Wren made an admirable order against profanation in 1695, punishing with immediate dismissal any workman who was guilty of 'customary swearing' whilst engaged upon works 'intended for the service of God and the honour of religion.'

Two fires at York, one on Feb. 2, 1829, the work of Martin the incendiary, and a second, the result of a plumber's carelessness, on May 20, 1840, necessitated a costly restoration of the superb minster, which was carried out with the same zeal which restored St. Paul's after similar disasters in 1561 and 1666. At Lincoln there was a provision in 1440 that workmen of this class were to be carefully watched as a precaution against such dangers. The spire of St. Paul's was burned down in 1561, owing to the carelessness of a plumber, who confessed on his death-bed that he had left a pan of coals burning whilst he had gone to his dinner.[1] The fall of the spire and tower of Chichester, on Feb. 21, 1861, dragging down the adjacent bays, was repaired at a vast outlay, which showed, as in the northern county, that in these later days the spirit of love and munificence of England is not dead with regard to her ecclesiastical buildings.

The last havoc was made at Bristol, in the disgraceful riots of Oct. 31, 1831, when the chapter library was thrown into the Avon or into the fire. The sub-sacrist, W. Phillips, gallantly withstood the mob with a stancheon, saying that the only entrance to the cathedral they should have would be over

[1] Malcolm, iii. 69.

his dead body; and bishop Gray, when importuned to escape whilst his palace was blazing, replied that death could not overtake him in a better place than in God's house. In the garden there bishop Butler used to walk for hours and, on one occasion, in a prophetic vein, mused on the insanity of whole communities, so fatally fulfilled on that day of terror.[1]

SCANDALS — NO PROCESSION, NO CHOIR — FRAYS AT WORCESTER AND CHICHESTER — SINGING MEN — DANCING ROUNDHEADS—THE PROCESSION OF FLAGELLANTS—PANCAKE BELL OF YORK.

YORK presented a strange scene when on the Vigil of the Epiphany, 1190, the dean and certain of the chapter refused to receive in procession the archbishop elect, who had come to attend solemn vespers. When he reached the choir the service had begun, by order of the dean: the primate recommenced the office, while the precentor ordered the choir to be silent, and the dean and treasurer bade them continue to sing; the latter, however, soon terminated the unseemly dispute by putting out all the lights,[2] and leaving Geoffrey to finish the service in the dark. On the festival, in the presence of the assembled congregation and the canons, the dean and chapter refused to make their submission, and the people became so threatening, in spite of the interference of the Archbishop, that one fled to his deanery, and the other sought shelter at the tomb of St. William.[3] On

[1] Blunt's Essays, 498. [2] Hoveden, iii. 31.
[3] Bened. Petrib. iii. 32–3.

another occasion, when Geoffrey levied some heavy exactions on the chapter for the ransom of Richard I., the Dean and canons suspended the services, shut up the minster, silenced the bells, bared the altars, and locked up the Archbishop's stall in choir and the door which led from his palace. On January 1, 1194,[1] he filled up the vacancies with ministers of his own choosing.[2] At a later date the dean ordered a contumacious canon who came to vespers to retire, and on his refusal ordered the lights to be put out, and left the choir.[3] Two rival Archdeacons, severally the nominee of the crown and primate, settled the difficulty amicably by sharing the revenue, and on alternate days occupying their common stall.[4] In April 1190 when Longchamp came to investigate the massacre of the Jews which had occurred on March 16, and the chapter refused to give him the honours of a legate, he ordered the bells to be laid upon the ground,[5] and pronounced suspension on the church, until the canons, vicars, and clerks came to his feet.[6]

On June 1, 1291, the processions fought upon Trinity Sunday, at Worcester,[7] and owing to the bloodshed, service was said in the chapter-house until June 11, when the Bishop reconciled the cathedral. Similar struggles for the precedency of the parish banner at the annual visit to Ely Cathedral, were forbidden in 1364,[8] and by Grostete at Lincoln,[9] as the cause of fightings and death.

[1] Hoveden, iii. 223. [2] P. 229. [3] iv. 53.
[4] Ibid. 8, 9. [5] Comp. Wilkins Conc. i. 17.
[6] Hoveden, iii. 35; Bened. iii. 109. [7] Ann. Wigorn. 510.
[8] Wilkins, iii. 61. [9] Brown Fasc. rer. ii. 413.

At Chichester also the parishioners of the adjoining villages, when they visited St. Richard's shrine on Whitsun Monday, came to blows about precedence of access and departure, and Bishop Story required them in consequence to assemble at 10 A.M., and enter, not with long painted rods, with which they had belaboured each other, but with crosses and banners, and go through the church decently and in order. And so late as 1687, the question was asked by the Bishop in Visitation,—'Is the pious and grateful commemoration of the founders, Wilfrid and Richard, made in Divine service on set days?' At that time a list of all the benefactors was set up in an open place in the Cathedral, and the Feast of the Dedication was observed in 1682.

Sir T. More says that women sang songs of ribaldry in processions in Cathedral churches.[1] The last indecency of such a kind we may hope occurred on the following occasion: 'Sabbath Day, about the time of morning prayer, we went to the Minster of Worcester, when the pipes played and puppets sange so sweetely that our soildiers could not forbeare dauncinge in the holie quire. Oct. 7, 1642.'[2]

About Michaelmas, 1349, some seven score Flemish fanatics, bare from the waist upwards, clad in linen, hats, and with red crosses before and behind, scourged themselves twice a day in St. Paul's till the blood flowed, with a whip of three-knotted cords, and then went in procession singing antiphonally.[3] It would have been well if the tumbril and stocks had been

[1] Tyndal's Works, iii. 125. [2] Arch. xxxv. 332.
[3] Stow's Ann. 246.

applied to the persons of ill repute and filthy manners, who figure in the statutes of Wells and York, as haunting the nave. The ordinary penitent came bareheaded and barefooted to a cathedral;[1] and Bishop Bateman compelled Lord Morley, who had killed his deer and ill-treated his keepers, to walk as a penance through the streets of Norwich with a lighted taper to the high altar.[2]

At Exeter, on St. Peter's Eve, the Canon's tenants and the choristers with paper shields of arms went in procession.

On Shrove Tuesday, the doors of York minster were thrown open all day, and all the apprentices, servants, and journeymen, streamed in to ring the Pancake bell, with such gross excesses that the attempt of Dr. Lake to stop the scandal nearly cost him his life. At St. Paul's after the Restoration it was found necessary to erect a fence on the inside of the great north door to hinder the concourse of rude people from running into the cathedral when the gates were opened for ringing St. Faith's parish bell.

SPUR MONEY—THE COOK OF WESTMINSTER.

Spur money demanded at Hereford, Westminster, St. Paul's in 1598, and Bristol,[3] can be traced at Peterborough to 1661, in the case of the famous John Ray,[4] and at Durham, causing people to avoid service.[5] It was a fine for entering the choir with spurs on, as their jingling interrupted the service; if, however, the

[1] Hist. of York, 231. [2] Godwin, 349.
[3] Notes and Queries, 2nd Ser. xii. 229, 259.
[4] Ibid. 1st Ser. 374, 494. [5] Granville's Lett. ii. 162.

youngest chorister being summoned could not repeat his gamut, the fine could not be levied. It can be traced back to 1228, when it was decided that the priors of Binham and Wymondham might attend the synod at Norwich in copes and with spurs, without changing their travelling garb.[1] At St. Paul's they threatened imprisonment in the choir for a whole night to all who refused them money. In 1803 Malcolm says the custom lingered in some country cathedrals.[2] Bishop Finch paid eighteen pence as an offender, but the Duke of Cumberland pleaded, successfully, that it was hard if he could not wear his spurs where they had been first buckled on. At the installation of the Knights of the Bath, the Cook of Westminster stands with a cleaver at the door, threatening to strike off the spurs of any unworthy of their honour. He receives a fee for his speech.

A THOROUGHFARE IN CATHEDRALS: CANTERBURY, WINCHESTER, DURHAM, WORCESTER, SALISBURY, YORK, NORWICH—MARVEL AT WELLS—PAUL'S WALK—TO DINE WITH DUKE HUMPHREY.

At Winchester there is a slype at the west side of the Cathedral, with a Latin motto to this effect, that one way led to the choir and the other to market; it was opened in 1632, in order to prevent the indecency of leaving the Cathedral open as a common thoroughfare to the Close and College.[3] Archbishop

[1] Gesta Ab. S. Albani, i. 278. [2] iii. 71.
[3] Milner, ii. 132.

Parker forbade the Church and Cloister of Canterbury to be a highway or passage for market-folk.[1]

The scandal of a thoroughfare long continued at Durham; and at Worcester, in 1750, the opening of the slype at the west end 'removed the indecent annoyance of passengers conveying every kind of burden through the principal north entrance across the nave to the cloisters, even during the time of Divine service.'[2] At Salisbury, Laud, in his Visitation Articles, enquired whether the Church and Close were made a common thoroughfare.[3] Bishop Sir Thomas Gooch, early in 1740, suppressed the indecent thoroughfare through the nave and north transept of Norwich. All dignitaries and prebendaries of York were to be daily present at Divine service in their own stalls, and not to walk in any part of the Church in 1572;[4] but a century later, in the Lives of the Norths it is mentioned that, at York and Durham, 'the gentry affected much to walk there, to see and be seen.'[5]

It is a pity that these idlers had not had a similar warning to that recorded by Casaubon, and certified by Bishop Andrewes on the authority of Bishop Still, that, on a summer's day in 1596, as the people were at prayers in the Cathedral of Wells, two or three thunder-claps were above measure dreadful, so that the whole congregation, affected alike, threw themselves on their knees at this terrifying sound. The marks of a cross were found to have been im-

[1] Strype's Parker, ii. 21, 23. [2] Chambers' Worcester, 132.
[3] Works, v. 461. [4] Grindal's Works, 148.
[5] Comp. Gran. Lett. ii. 163.

printed on the bodies of those present.[1] Most cathedrals are now left open and free; a fact in 1857 which the American author, N. Hawthorne, commented on as peculiar to Peterborough.

Cuthbert Tonstal ordered the Chapter of Durham to set up strong grates, or screens of iron or wood, with gates round the choir, as at St. Paul's, London, leaving open that part of the church only when Divine service was going on; for fear of dishonest folks stealing the books and vestments, as there was no enclosure whatever.[2] Moritz in 1782 plaintively describes the choir of St. Paul's: 'in the church itself as it were a piece stuck on or added to the main edifice and separated from the large round empty space by an iron gate.'[3] After the Restoration matters were amended, for the service at Lichfield is stated in the Lives of the Norths to have been 'conducted with more harmony and less huddle than in any church, except of late at St. Paul's.'[4]

At St. Paul's, horses and mules were driven across the nave, bearers of burdens were required to drop a penny into a box for the purpose, and Weever gives a fearful picture of the foul profanity in his day,[5] whilst quaint Bishop Corbet, pleading for contributions to its restoration, says, 'are we not beholden to it every man for the body or the choir, for a walk or a warbling note, for a prayer or a thorough path?'[6]

[1] M. Casaubon on Credulity and Incredulity, 118.
[2] Script. Dunelm. iii. App. cccclvii.
[3] Pinkerton's Travels, ii. 521. [4] Lives of the Norths, ii. 144.
[5] Fun. Mon. 163. See also Strype's London, iii. 169.
[6] Malcolm, iii. 78.

The central alley of St. Paul's was called Paul's Walk; the fashionable hours being between eleven and noon and three and six.[1] Bishop Earle describes the sound of tongues and feet as 'a kind of still roar or loud whisper;' and about midway was Sir J. Beauchamp's, commonly called the Duke of Gloucester's tomb;[2] and hence loiterers who employed their time in pacing the distance between the west door and the choir, were said to dine with Duke Humphrey. A Club used to assemble at it on St. Andrew's Day, in the morning, and afterwards dine together as if they were servants in his household; and on May Day the watermen and tankard-bearers sprinkled water and strewed herbs upon it early in the morning (after the fire, the nave of Westminster was occupied by the idlers); 'the south alley was for usury and popery, the north for simony and the horse fair; in the midst for all kinds of bargains, meetings, brawlings, murders, conspiracies; and the font for ordinary payments of money,' according to Pilkington. Every serjeant-at-law had his pillar to hear clients, where he took notes of his client's cause; in 1552, when they were appointed 'they went round the choir, and there did their homage.'[3] At the serving man's log domestics, like Bardolph, stood to be hired; rufflers, quacks, ballad-mongers, masked women, stale knights, and the Captains Bobadil of the period, and noisy craftsmen, plied their trade; butchers, porters, and water-carriers carried their burdens through the church; chapels

[1] Osborne's Works, 403. [2] Weaver, Fun. Monum. 423.
[3] Dugd. Orig. Jur. 142; Machyn's Diary, 26, 195.

were workshops and lumber-rooms, the cloisters were used as cellars, or for the noisy craft of a trunk-maker;[1] drunkards slept on the bench at the choir door, and idlers with their hats on walked within it. On one of the pillars, Algar's, a prebendary's, foot was carved, and served as the standard measure of land. In the east alley was the Si quis door for advertisements. Dekker mentions the semsters' shops and new tobacco office; and Ben Jonson lays a scene in the nave. In the plague year three hundred pallets for the sick were laid in the aisles.

Among other shameful abuses, one originated with the bell-ringers, who, for money, allowed mischievous idlers to go up the tower, where they amused themselves by shouting, and throwing down stones upon the heads of those who sauntered beneath, or were passing by, possibly some of the people who walked about the sanctuary with their hats on.[2]

Old St. Paul's, 603 feet in length, and with a steeple once 534 feet in height, had been wretchedly mutilated, the whole exterior of the Norman nave being recased with pseudo-classic masonry; its double chapter-house and cloisters were decayed. Since 1400, when Baldock cursed all who desecrated them, its aisles had been a thoroughfare, and at length, as Dryden suggests, it could be purged only by fire. A royal phantom was supposed to have been seen, in a threatening attitude, three times at midnight, and seated on a judgment-throne, waving his glittering arm above the church now doomed to destruction;

[1] Malcolm, iii. 71–2.

[2] Comp. Laud v. 479.

and then in the terrible conflagration of London, the flames consumed 'the awful beauties of the sacred choir,' with its glorious eastern rose, the one part which had been preserved unharmed since the bigot Ridley tore down the reredos and the superb shrine behind it.

RAVAGES OF IGNORANCE — WREN'S TEARS — CORNWALLIS SAVES THE GALILEE—THE MOB OF LINCOLN —ELY IN DANGER—MRS. COTTON'S BIRDCAGE—MONK WINS HIS MITRE.

VON RAUMER characterised the modern St. Paul's as 'a vast white solitude,' and Addison made his imaginary Indian princes believe that it was hewn out of a hill of stone. The very theory of the ground plan for a church had died out when Wren, 'the modest man' sketched by Addison,[1] constructed his first miserable design for a huge preaching house, in which he was foiled by the Duke of York. Unhappily, instead of restoring the magnificent ruin (which survived the Great Fire, and was destroyed by battering-rams and barrels of corn powder, the alabaster of the tombs being converted into cement for his new work), he was permitted to erect the wooden fabric of a sham dome, to build a wall in front of the clerestory, making the interior the darkest in England, and the only one which cannot be photographed, to lower the pavement at one uniform level, and to construct a shallow niche behind the altar. The lateral oratories

[1] Tatler, No. 52.

are said to have been forced upon him, though he protested against them with tears, by James II., who hoped one day to fill them with low altars.[1] The Morning Chapel has recently received such an addition for early celebrations. Wren also opposed the introduction of a balustrade by the commissioners, saying bitterly that people who were of little skill in architecture expected what they had been used to in Gothic structures, and 'ladies think nothing well without an edging.'[2] According to the 'Parentalia,' a labourer by accident having brought a fragment of a gravestone with the word Resurgam on it, to mark the centre of the site of the dome, the incident was regarded as an omen, and a phœnix with this motto now appears on the pediment over the southern portico.[3] The wits asserted that Queen Anne's statue wisely turned its back upon the church; but the aged architect, it is said, after he had been dismissed from office, often had his chair carried before St. Paul's, and there would gaze on his handiwork[4] until his eyes ran down with tears. The bigotry of a later period (1773) induced the primate and bishop of London to discountenance the introduction of sculpture and painting by six eminent members of the Royal Academy.[5]

The ravages committed at the Reformation and during the civil wars were almost equalled by those of ignorance and vile taste in that miserable era of false doctrine, decadence of ecclesiastical learning,

[1] Spence's Anecdotes, Ed. Singer, 256. [2] Ibid. 257.
[3] Knight, 254. [4] Its slowness was called 'Church-work.' Gostling, 74.
[5] Ann. Reg. xvi. 139.

and worship of a spurious foreign element in architecture, the eighteenth century; beautifying then was as fatal a word as restoration often has proved in our own period. In 1764, at Carlisle, the wiseacres discovered that the wooden ceiling of the choir was in decay, so they 'stuccoed it in the form of a groined vault, which is a great advantage to its appearance,' says Hutchinson. The ancient bishop's throne, the whole of the choir screens, with one exception, and the reredos, were removed, and a new throne, altar, and other woodwork, after the designs of Lord Camelford, were erected at a cost of 1,300*l.*; at a later period the Church of St. Mary in the nave was walled off from the rest of the Cathedral; in the beginning of this century modern panelling, and walls as high as the capitals of the pillars, blocked out the light; and then, to counteract this wanton mutilation, the beautiful quatrefoil parapet of the clerestory was removed piecemeal; and, in 1780, two houses at the N.E. angle of the Cathedral were erected, with a scullery and upholsterer's shop between the buttresses.

At Canterbury, in 1704, the old stalls were removed, and a throne of Corinthian design erected by Archbishop Tenison; and about this time the organ also was removed from the north side of the choir to a position over the choir screen; in 1729 a Corinthian altar-piece was erected; in 1750, the screens of iron which had parted off the nave and aisles from the crossing, and in 1787 the singular Neville's Chapel, built like some at Lichfield between the buttresses, had been removed. In the present century the old

Norman west tower was destroyed and rebuilt as a facsimile of the Arundel steeple, to the too obvious detriment of a distinctive feature of the fabric. The beautiful Perpendicular screen of the Jesus Chapel at Norwich was in existence within forty years since; the ancient clock has also disappeared, like the famous horn of Carlisle.

At Durham, Wyatt plied his chiselling process to the western towers, the whole north side of the church, and the east end of the Nine Altars, between 1775 and '95. Four inches of masonry were removed from the surface, amounting to full 1,100 tons weight, at a cost of 30,000*l.* A Gothic parapet and pinnacles, with Italian mouldings on the western towers, four great stone pinnacles on the Nine Altars, destruction of statues, defacing of buttresses, alterations of the front of the transept, and the removal of the room of the sanctuary watchers over the north porch, were among the atrocities committed by this shameful wrecker, who, but for the fierce outcry of John Carter, would have taken down the reredos and throne to make a screen in the Nine Altars. Atkinson's application of Roman cement and the chisel combined to the grand central tower in 1812, were harmless when contrasted with this man's design to destroy the Galilee. Conceive what the spire would have been which he wished to raise upon the lantern! He had actually stripped the lead off the Galilee, designing to make on the site a carriage way for the wives of the prebendaries to drive straight to their houses, when most opportunely the good Dean Cornwallis, who had driven in all haste from Lich-

field, opportunely interposed. 'I saved the Galilee,' was his happy thought, often loudly expressed. It was only in 1828 redeemed from being a lumber-room, to provide for Sunday evening services from Easter to Michaelmas. In 1799, the chapter-house was doomed to destruction in order to make 'a comfortable room,' the keystones were knocked out, and in their fall demolished a superb pavement, rich in gravestones and brasses; while the apse, with its side walls, forty feet in length, was completely removed, along with the old marble chair in which the bishops had been installed, under the superintendence of the Cathedral surveyor.

At Salisbury the ruinous hand of Sir Christopher Wren was felt in the erection of new stalls and a screen, which overlaid the early English woodwork, and led to the removal of the rood loft. In the time of Bishop Hume, a screen, painted in imitation of oak, and of an indescribable design, was set up, and the iron chapel of the Hungerfords was bodily removed into the choir. Bishop Barrington, with ill-directed zeal, fostered 'improvements' still more disastrous. The Hungerford and Beauchamp Chapels, with the remarkable paintings of Death and the Gallant in the former, which flanked the Lady Chapel, were destroyed, and part of their stonework was employed to make an organ screen; and a reredos for the altar, which in contempt for precedent and taste was placed at the extreme end of the building in the Lady Chapel, far out of hearing and partially of sight, whilst a sort of transparency designed by Sir Joshua Reynolds and worthy of

the 'washy virtues' of New College, Oxford, rendered the vista hideous. Disjointed fragments were employed to make a motley patchwork for mutilated monuments, which were sent to new positions, and in some instances were coolly ranged between the pillars of the nave far away from the graves which they had covered. The ancient rood-beam, an unique remnant of old ornament and devotion, was barbarously removed, as well as the chantry screens in the transept, and two external porches. The stalls, pulpit, and throne suffered under Wyatt's reforming hand; the paintings on the vault, of high value, were washed out with a stone tint; the stained glass was carted away to be shot into a ditch as rubbish, and the superb detached bell-tower, which had been wisely erected to save the delicate central steeple from the resonance of a large peal, was laid low. 'Yes, the monster has been here,' said poor Pugin, when he tracked the ill-doings of Wyatt. In 1834 the muniments of Salisbury strewed the floor, a feast for moths and spiders, when Peter Hall visited it, until Dean Lear remedied the state of things.

This evil genius of Cathedrals was called in at Hereford to effect a further execution after the fall of the western tower. He deliberately rebuilt, without any necessity, the nave—triforium, and clerestory, in his own bastard style; flimsy, poor, and discordant with the grand Norman arcade below, and with the sacrifice of an entire bay, between 1786 and 1796, at a cost of nearly 20,000*l.* What we have lost may be gathered at a glance, with a drawing of the old nave before the eye. In similar evil fashion,

which would dismay a country mason of ordinary skill, two hideous arches with a square pillar were erected under each arch of the tower; and an incongruous screen blocked up the superb Norman east end. The Lady Chapel, neglected and dilapidated, was a lumber room of bookcases, its exquisite details being smothered in thick coats of whitewash; and the western alley of the cloister disappeared to make room for a brick building, which served as a grammar school. 'Within these few weeks past, January, 1738, they began to pull down the old double Gothic chapel belonging to the bishop's palace at Hereford,' which was unique in England, 'in order to erect a pile in a politer taste for the public service.'[1] The chapter-house was also destroyed by bishop Bisse.[2]

The ridiculous furniture and cross walls of the choir of Worcester, 'a Greek among Goths,' happily have lately disappeared; we are told in 1647, the detached campanile was destroyed.

At Lichfield, Wyatt in 1788 laid open the choir to the Lady Chapel, and filled up the lateral arches, which had opened to the aisles, with a plain wall; and a dean being apprehensive that the rows of statues on the west front would some day fall on his head, employed a chimney-sweep boy, at great hazard, to pull them down. Within memory the Early English woodwork of Wells has given place to a set of worthless, cold, incongruous stone stalls.

It is time to turn from a painful subject; our losses are irreparable, but at least we have generally got rid of pews; ladies' galleries (which have disappeared at

[1] Defoe, ii. 291. [2] Price's Hereford, 136.

Worcester) only remain at Peterborough in their full obtrusiveness. It is to be hoped that, with the incongruous stall work and screen, they may very speedily be removed. In 1700, all the prebendaries' wives sat in a row together in a seat upon the south side of the choir of Norwich.[1] In 1740, the ladies' pews at York, by order of Dean Osbaldiston, were rebuilt; 'the Canons' ladies' pew' still deforms Durham, and at Winchester a motley square of pews still blocks up the centre of the choir, and 'ladies' closets' were introduced by Wren behind the stalls of St. Paul's, though Corbet had vigorously opposed the abomination of pews 'with casements, locks, keys, and cushions, so that it wanted only beds to hear the word of God on, to hide disorder or to proclaim pride.'[2] At Ripon some of the tabernacle work of the stalls was converted into gallery fronts and pews.

In 1753, eleven images of kings over the west door of Lincoln were pulled down in order to put up a foolish inscription of the names of the subscribers to the new railings. In Browne Willis's plan (1730), the screens at the east end of the presbytery are still shown; now the only tokens of the site of the chapels are the raised altar-steps. The new paving (1791), as in other Cathedrals, completely removed the ancient gravestones; but here, although Brasenose College would have restored the brass of their founder, Bishop Smith, the offer was declined. Other stones were removed to the cloisters, which were used as a sort of workshop, and were broken and de-

[1] Lamb. MS. 1144. [2] Malcolm, iii. 79.

faced. In 1547 the great central spire fell, and wrecked the battlements, which were replaced after his own design by Essex in 1775, who built up a hideous reredos; he and James also erected the incongruous arches at the west end of the nave. Peck, in a dedication to his 'Desiderata Curiosa,' actually in all seriousness complimented Bishop Reynolds on his gift of the palace of Lincoln as a quarry for the repairs of the Cathedral. In 1808 the spires were removed from the western towers in spite of every argument; and though, in 1726, the townsmen had uprisen in a body to resist a similar purpose, and were only calmed by a politic proclamation of the bellman.[1] Those of Durham in 1665, Ripon in 1664, and other spires of Hereford, Rochester, and Ely, have disappeared since the views in the 'Monasticon' were engraved.

At Chichester, in 1735, the most wretched innovations were effected; the Lady Chapel converted into a library, was provided with places for brooms and coals behind the bookcases, and the choir with accommodation for ladders, and the like.[2] At Gloucester, Fowler, afterwards bishop, actually destroyed with his own hand some fine glass in 1679, and Bishop Benson in 1741 mutilated the interior of the Church.

Altarpieces came into vogue as at Lincoln, Worcester, and Winchester, often in place of hangings of tapestry, which were in the seventeenth century not an uncommon decoration. It was removed at York in 1760.

[1] History of Lincoln, 70. [2] Cole's MS. xl. fo. 141.

At Winchester the beautiful ceiling of the chapel of the Guardian Angels was broken through into large holes for the leaders to the organ not many years since. The affectation of vistas introduced by Wyatt the Destructive; restoration so-called, in re-casting buildings, scraping of stones, and actual destruction as at Wells and Worcester have bared our Cathedrals and Closes, so that the old features are no longer discernible, and the old arrangements lost.

I shall now add a few notices of Cathedrals in the eighteenth century. 'Ely is (1738) in some part so ancient that it totters so much with every gust of wind, looks so like a decay and seems so near it, that whenever it does fall, all that 'tis likely will be thought strange in it will be that it did not fall a hundred years sooner.'[1] Fuller, in the preceding century, mentioned the fact that 'in the lanthorn[2] when the bells ring, the woodwork thereof shaketh, and gapeth and exactly chocketh into the joynts again; the lively emblem of the sincere Christian, who hath fear and trembling, yet stands firmly fixt on the basis of a true faith.'[3]

At Salisbury 'the painting in the choir is mean, and more like the ordinary method of common drawing-room or tavern painting than that of a church.' It had lately been repaired.

> As many days as in one year there be,
> So many windows in one church we see;

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[1] Defoe's Travels, i. 85. [2] Comp. Defoe, i. 245.
[3] Worthies, i. 155.

As many marble pillars there appear
As there are hours throughout the fleeting year;
As many gates as moons one year do view, &c.[1]

Fuller[2] adds to his prose version of this idea the words an 'almanack of architecture,' and says that 'some foreign artists beholding the minster brake forth into tears, owing to envy or admiration, as finer than any building in their own country.'

'Here, at Gloucester,' says Walpole, 'is a modernity (1753) which beats all antiquities for curiosity. Just by the high altar is a small pew hung with green damask, with curtains of the same, a small corner cupboard painted, carved, and gilt for birds in one corner, and two troughs of a birdcage with seeds and water. It belongs to Mrs. Cotton, who, having lost a favourite daughter, is convinced her soul is transmigrated into a robin redbreast, for which reason she passes her life in making an aviary of the Cathedral of Gloucester. The Chapter indulge this whim, as she contributes abundantly to glaze, whitewash, and ornament the church.'[3] Carter used to rejoice that Westminster Abbey was one of the few churches which had escaped the pollution of whitewash. Dr. Monk was one of the first to attempt the appropriate style of ornament and furniture in Cathedrals; and a mitre was considered the due reward, by the Duke of Wellington, for his zeal shown at Peterborough during his active decanate.

The evil days have passed away, worse than those of pillage and sacrilege, when sloth and nepotism

[1] Defoe's Travels, i. 287. [2] Worthies, ii. 346.
[3] Lett. ii. 35.

reigned; when Canons carefully pared down their residence to the lowest amount; when Residentiaries owed their preferment to the recommendation of county magnates, and chapters were a family compact; when the residentiary houses were pulled down, and a solitary house was retained for a Canon in residence for three months in a year. Magnificent works of renewal or restoration, complete or in progress, are signs of the inner life of Cathedrals, which has manifested itself in special and more frequent services, open and free naves full of worshippers, greater devotion in choral song, and a willingness to keep pace with the demands of the nineteenth century.

SECTION III.

CUSTOMS—FROM THE CLOSE TO THE CHOIR DOOR—THE CLOSE—ANCIENT NAMES.

THE Closes of the monastic Cathedrals are called the Precincts at Norwich (in 1677 the most disorderly place in the whole city),[1] Rochester, Peterborough, and Canterbury; at Carlisle, the Abbey; at Chester, the Abbey Square, and at Westminster the Cloisters; at Durham, Gloucester, Ely, Bristol, and Worcester, the College plainly points to the change to a secular foundation. Place (palace) Green was the lay cemetery on the north of Durham Cathedral.

The Close is called at Wells, Cathedral Green; at Chichester, Canon Lane; at Exeter, Cathedral Yard; and at Lincoln and York, Minster Yard. The Chancery, or Chancellor's house, is still occupied at Lincoln, and the names of the Chantry and Treasury at Chichester, now alienated from them, denote the old residences of two dignitaries. The Choristers' House remains at Lincoln. In the close of St. Paul's, on one festival of the patron saint, Henry II. fed fifteen thousand people.

At Chichester the garth is called the Paradise, and at Chester the Sprice; at Wells the Palm Court,

[1] Lamb, MS. 930, fo. 80.

in allusion to the ceremonial of Palm Sunday; and at Peterborough the Laurel Court; the Gallery at Ely marks the western boundary of the Priory; and at Peterborough designated in the 17th century the grand western portal; at Hereford, the Cloister-garth bears the name of Our Lady Arbour;[1] and it may be observed, that it resembles the term Maid Arbour at Durham,[2] and the Maiden Alley, the Slype, at Chester. In the Cloister of Chichester the first theological prebendaries gave their lectures. At Norwich, Worcester, and Winchester a Carnary received the bones dug up in course of successive interments. The Cathedrals of the Old Foundations had only three sides to the cloister, for in monasteries the fourth alley next the church was used by the readers. In some cathedrals there were anchorites' cells, as Norwich, and Worcester,[3] and Durham.[4]

OPEN AIR PREACHING.

At Hereford there was a great Cross in the minster churchyard, and it was only about the year 1791 that all persons who died in Hereford were no longer buried within the enclosure round the mother church.[5] In London sermons were preached from the steps of Paul's Cross, the congregation assembling around it, and only adjourning to the shrouds (the crypt) when the weather was unfavourable.[6] Sometimes, when party feeling ran high, a guard of

[1] Havergal, 32. [2] III. Script. Dunelm. 156.
[3] Noake, 119. [4] Rites, 15. [5] Price, 142-144.
[6] Blunt's Hist. of Reform. 179, 257; Gent. Mag. L. 110.

soldiers protected the pulpit in the reign of Elizabeth. Twelve surpliced choristers sat on the top of a double gallery on the south side of the nave, and a third gallery held the mayor and aldermen. An hour-glass adorned the hexagonal pulpit as a hint to the preacher, whose sermon, scribes, with their inkhorns lying on the steps, wrote down as he spoke.[1] From his attendance here as a preacher, Richard Hooker dated the miseries of his married life. Sir Thomas Browne says of Norwich, where as at St. Paul's the bishop still nominates the Sunday morning preachers, 'Before the late times the Combination Sermons were preached in the summertime at the Cross in the Green Yard, where there was a good accommodation for the auditors. The mayor, aldermen, with their wives and officers, had a well-contrived place built against the wall of the bishop's palace, covered with lead, so that they were not offended by rain. Upon the north side of the church places were built gallery-wise, one above another, where the dean, prebends, and their wives, gentlemen, and the better sort, very well heard the sermon; the rest either stood or sat in the green, upon long forms provided for them, paying a penny or halfpenny apiece as they did at St. Paul's Cross in London. The bishop and chancellor heard the sermons at the windows of the bishop's palace. The pulpit had a large covering of lead over it, and a cross upon it, and there were eight or ten stairs of stone about it, upon which the hospital boys and others stood. The preacher had his face to the

[1] Malcolm, III. 75.

south, and there was a painted board of a foot and a half broad and about a yard and a half long hanging over his head before, upon which was painted the names of the benefactors towards the Combination sermon.' Lestrange (before 1641) says, that on high festivals the bishop or dean preached at Norwich in their scarlet gowns.[1] In 1405 a single sermon was preached on Sundays in Lent in le Greneyerd.[2] In 1666 Worcester was provided with that useful appendage an hour-glass, which might judiciously be introduced even now in cathedrals as a protest against preaching at an undue length.

Laud at Canterbury appointed six preachers, each of whom, besides having duty in the cathedral, was to deliver twenty sermons yearly in adjacent parishes.

MARRIAGE AT THE CHURCH DOOR—NOTICES ON DOORS — LOTTERIES, AND PENANCES — THORNS PLACED BEFORE DOORS—PARDON DOORS—SKINS ON DOORS —WATCHERS.

In September 1299 the primate solemnized the marriage of Edward and Margaret at the church-door of Canterbury towards the cloister, near the door of St. Thomas the Martyr.[3] In 1395, the Lollards fixed their heretical conclusions on the doors of St. Paul's and Westminster, with various insolent verses.[4] Bishop Hacket, on the doors of Lichfield, wrote up a Latin verse forbidding candidates for holy orders to wear long hair. The first lottery drawn

[1] Anec. and Trad. Camd. Soc. v. 21. [2] Wilkins, III. 310.
[3] Ang. Sac. i. 51. [4] Trokelowe, 174, 182.

in England was held at St. Paul's door day and night from January to May in 1569; and others were drawn in a timber house there in 1586 and 1612.[1] Bishop Ralph at Chichester, the partisan of St. Anselm, when Henry I. levied a tax upon priests, directed the doors of the Cathedral and other churches to be barred with thorns.[2] In the Synod of Llandaff, 1059, Bishop Herguald anathematised the whole family of King Catgucaun, placing the crucifixes and holy relics upon the ground, reversing the bells, and choking up the entrance to the cathedral with thorns.[3] Before the doors of Worcester St. Oswald, foreseeing that his decease was at hand, wept tears of joy, saying, as he looked up to the sky and the light fell full upon his face, 'Suffer me to look, my brothers, on the bourne of the journey which I shall shortly take.'[4] At the west door of his minster, Archbishop Sewal, of York, sat in a pontifical chair on Maundy Thursday to reconcile penitents, and re-admit them into the church; those who were obdurate were bound to two tall pillars and publicly whipped. The primate, however, on one occasion, whilst endeavouring to compel an obdurate woman to kneel, lost his hold, and fell heavily to the ground, so that his mouth and nose bled profusely, and the wounds were only staunched by the application of the banner-cloth of his crozier. At Worcester Bishop Walter in 1240 ordered certain penitents to be scourged before the great doors of

[1] Stowe, 662, 719, 913.
[2] W. Malm. 206.
[3] Wilkins' Conc. i. 314.
[4] W. Malm. 250.

the cathedral four times a year.[1] Bishop Kirkham scourged one of the noblest barons in England, for an insult to the church, at the door of Durham.[2]

In 1250, the Dean of St. Paul's closed the doors against Archbishop Boniface, fresh from levying heavy exactions at Rochester, under whose robes a breastplate ominously glittered.[3] Bishop Beatoun, like Archbishop Boniface, wore armour under his robes, and forgetting what he had donned, struck his hand upon his breast, saying on his conscience he knew nothing of the matter at issue in a fierce dispute between the Hamiltons and Douglasses, and as he spoke the plates of metal rattled, whereupon Gavin Douglas of Dunkeld wittily said, 'My lord, your conscience is not good, for I hear it clattering.'[4] But the scholar and poet-bishop was fain to lay siege to his own cathedral, which the Earl of Athol had seized, and planted wall-pieces upon the tower; in the battle between Claverhouse and the Cameronians the cathedral was the refuge of the inhabitants, and the tower placed in a state of defence. In 1560 two neighbouring landlords charged with cleansing the church of all monuments of idolatry sacked and swept it bare.[5] The great west doors of a Cathedral are only opened for the reception of a Sovereign or a bishop. There were Pardon doors at St. Paul's and Chichester, for the sale of Indulgences. Colonel Frederick, son of Theodore, King of Corsica, shot him-

[1] Wilkins, i. 668. [2] Chronicle of Lanercost, 67, 69.

[3] Milman, Lat. Christ. v. 28; Ann. of St. Paul's, 88; comp. Froude, vi. 170.

Chronicles, 287. [5] New Stat. Acc. Perthshire, 976–8.

self in the west porch of Westminster.[1] The skin of 'a Dane' who stole the sanctus bell, and was flayed in consequence, according to tradition, was placed on the doors of the north porch of Worcester, a portion of which remains in the crypt. So at Westminster the doorway leading into the revestry was lined with the tanned skin of a Dane, Dart says, as a memorial of the deliverance of England from their rule; in all probability in both of these cases this leather was made from the skins of persons executed for sacrilege and set up as a terror to less hardened thieves.[2] The 'suthdore' of Canterbury[3] served for trials.

Over the great north door of Durham was a chamber for two men, who were there always ready to receive persons who claimed asylum; and the sound of the great bell of the Galilee booming over the city told that some fugitive had fled to holy church. At Chichester and Norwich traditions of a similar arrangement are preserved.

At Lincoln, Canterbury, and Rochester the Watchers' door and chamber are still remembered by name, which were used by men who patrolled the church at night to see that all was safe from robbers and fire. At Worcester, Oxford, and Lichfield, the galleries used for this purpose still remains. At Canterbury, in times of danger, bandogs were loosed to guard the shrine, which was more costly than the treasures of kings,[4] and, to compare small things with great,

[1] Ann. Reg. xxxix. 11. [2] Noake, 341; Arch. Journ. v.; Gleanings, 48.
[3] Dart 6.
[4] For further information with regard to the internal furniture and arrangement, and the plan of the Close and adjacent buildings, I must refer to my 'Interior and Precincts of a Gothic Minster.' [Masters.]

during the rebuilding of St. Paul's, 'a great mastiff and a little dog were kept as alarums in the church.'[1]

PARISH CHURCH—USE OF TRIFORIUM—LOW ALTARS —THE DRAGON HEAD OF YORK.

NORWICH, Ripon, Manchester, Hereford, Ely, and Chester contain, and Carlisle till recently included, a parish church. At Salisbury marriages within the last half century have been solemnized in one there, and that of St. Peter's was recently removed from Chichester, as in still earlier times was the case at Lincoln. At St. Paul's, the parish church of St. Faith, after 1256, was in the crypt. Sermons were also frequently delivered in these shrouds.[2] Lichfield, Exeter, and St. Paul's also have a second altar. At York the triforium has a stone rail; at Chichester these galleries were filled at the re-opening of the cathedral, at Norwich, at Bishop Stanley's funeral, and are still used, for congregational purposes, at the nave services at Westminster Abbey. At York, probably in allusion to Ps. lxxiv. 13, a dragon's head, still remaining, supported the font cover, and fronts a statue of the Christian Warrior.

The use of canonicals in going to and from service remains partially or in the aggregate in force at Durham, Lichfield, Ely, Gloucester, Carlisle, Exeter, Salisbury, Wells, Canterbury, Chester, Worcester, and Westminster. At Chichester on ordinary days the gown is worn, and on Sundays with a cassock; the dean, as at Peterborough, alone wearing his

[1] Malcolm, iii. 98. [2] Machyn, 71, 151, 237, 253.

surplice, scarf, and hood. The verger precedes both the dean and residentiary to church. The cap is still carried in Cathedrals at all times when the canon or other member is in his choir habit. Square caps were ordered to be worn at Canterbury by Laud,[1] and the cope and hood by the Canons of 1603, the former, which had been used in singing mass,[2] being enjoined upon the principal minister, gospeller, and epistolar; the latter are called in the Rochester Statutes, deacon and subdeacon. Four petty canons, twelve vicars of choir, two deacons, and two subdeacons are mentioned at Hereford in 1637.[3] In several Cathedrals the master and scholars of the appendant school attend in surplices. There are always three vestries: one for the dean and chapter, etc., a second for priest-vicars or minor canons, and the third for lay clerks and choristers. At Canterbury the Library forms a vestry. In many Cathedrals the priest-vicars or minor canons, when robed, come into the first vestry before the procession is formed.

PROCESSIONS: CANTERBURY, NORWICH, CHICHESTER, YORK, LINCOLN, PROCESSION STONES — TAPESTRY HANGINGS ON SUCH OCCASIONS—PRAYERS IN VESTRY —ORDER OF PROCESSION—ANCIENT PROCESSIONS.

PARKER, the last primate who wore the fur almuce as 'a collar of sables' at his consecration, was a man intimately versed in the traditions of the Church, and directed in 1570 that 'all they of the choir with

[1] Works, v. 456. [2] Cartwright's Full Declaration, Ed. 1574, p. 131.
[3] Lamb. MS. 847, fo. 78.

the whole foundation, after service done by 8 A.M., should stand in the body of the church, on either side of the middle aisle, in due order,' and so 'until the repairing of the nave in 1788, there were at Canterbury two parallel lines cut in the pavement, about eight feet asunder, to show what room should be kept clear for processions.'[1] At Norwich the rings remain on the pillars towards the aisle for the ropes, which were used with a similar design, until 1835, on guild days, to prevent the crowd pouring into the aisles when the doors were thrown open at the demand of the mayor's officers, who made several distinct knocks. Mr. Valentine remembered at Chichester a line of processional stones in the nave; and at Lincoln, until 1790, two rows of circular stones remained.

In August 1537, when Henry VIII. and his queen of the time visited the Minster, the Bishop of Lincoln, 'with the whole quire and cross, were ready, and stood in the Minster along on both sides, the body of the church giving attendance when his grace alighted at the west end, and was censed by the bishop.'[2] They then proceeded 'under the canopy to the Sacrament, the whole choir singing melodiously Te Deum.' The socket for the processional cross still remains near the central pillar of the chapter-house. These circles were destroyed in 1736, at York; they may be seen marked in old ground-plans of the Minster, and are thus described: 'A number of circles, which ranged from the west end up the middle isle, on each side and in the centre. They

[1] Gostling, 180. [2] Brooke's Lincoln, 11.

were about forty-four on a side, about two feet in diameter, and as much in distance from one another. Those in the midst were fewer in number, larger, and exactly fronted the entrance of the great west door, that circle nearest the entrance being the largest of all. We take all these to have been drawn out for the ecclesiastics and dignitaries of the church to stand in, habited according to their proper distinctions, to receive an archbishop for installation, or on any other solemn occasion. The dean and other great dignitaries, we presume, possessed the middle space, whilst the prebendaries, vicars, sacrists, priests at altars belonging to the church, ranged on either side, and all together, when clad in their proper copes and vestments, must have made a glorious appearance, from whence we take this isle was called the Processional Isle.'

At Salisbury the arrangement of the procession depended on the precentor, and it moved in the following order, leaving a central passage between the rows to the west door: the cross-bearer and ministers, the dean and precentor, the chancellor and treasurer, the archdeacons; and then, also two and two, the canons, priests, deacons, and sub-deacons in the order of their stalls in choir, and, lastly, vicars major and minor; on the return the order was reversed, juniors preceding.[1] The bishop went last. In chapter the bishop had the dean, chancellor, archdeacons, and sub-dean on his right, and on his left the precentor, treasurer, archdeacons, and succentor; canons according to their orders;

[1] Maskell, iii. 285.

vicars, canons of the second form, and clerks in minor orders ranked next, whilst the boys stood on either side of the pulpit at Salisbury.[1] The order of the Sunday procession was: vergers, boys with holy water, thurifer with two acolytes carrying candles abreast, sub-deacon, deacon, and celebrant, priest, vicars, canons, dignitaries, and bishop, going out of the north door of the presbytery, then round it, and out of it down the south aisle to the font, then up the nave to under the rood-loft, where the bidding prayer was said; on great festivals after service they went down the centre of the choir and through the rood door to the cloisters. At Wells in 1338 the order of procession was: vergers, choristers, sub-deacon, deacon, epistolar, gospeller, priest-vicars, canons, dean, bishop, archdeacons, and chaplains.[2] It has been suggested that these stones, like the foreign labyrinths, may have served as a compromise for pilgrims, 'marking a pace in the length of the nave' which twelve times repeated make a mile—'twelve little holes against the great door with a little peg served to mark the miles.'[3] In several parts of Westminster, where the old pavement remains, a line of square stones between the ordinary diamond-patterns may be traced, which once guided the progress of the procession. The Queen and Princesses, in 1803, witnessed the processions of the Knights of the Bath from the Dean's gallery in the south aisle of Westminster, and as it passed, the trumpets sounded and the knights made obeisance.

[1] Rock Ch. of our Faith, iii. app. 22.

[2] Lamb. MS. 729, fo. 105. Antiq. Repert. ii. 217.

The hooks for tapestry hangings used on festal occasions remain in the nave at Winchester.

Bishop Hacket revived a choral procession at Lichfield; they have been made lately at Canterbury and Chichester.

The orderly procession on week days, juniors going first, was commenced at Bristol, and on Sundays at Canterbury, where the verger precedes the clergy, and not the dean and chapter. At Ely and Chichester the dean precedes the chapter in going to and from choir; and prayers are said previously by the senior present in the Choristers' Vestry at Chichester; at Durham they are said before service; and at Hereford both before and after by a chorister. At Ely there are prayers in the boys' vestry, and at Lichfield the procession of clergy and choristers is formed in the cloisters, and in the south transept the lay clerks take their place in it, two choristers walking behind all.

At Bristol in leaving the choir the capitular members intervene between the lay clerks and choristers in the vestibule of the chapter-house; at St. Paul's they form three separate processions, which merge into one under the dome. At Durham, and in most cathedrals, the choristers and clerks walk two and two, and the clergy singly. Theological students at Durham and Lichfield close the procession. At Ely exceptionally the bishop walks between the choir and dean; and at Chichester, ordinarily he is last in the procession. At Canterbury, preceded by his verger, the primate walks with the dean. At Westminster, at the striking of the clock, the members used to drop in independently.

At Durham there was a custom of coming to celebration by the south-east door; at Chichester the clergy go out at this side after it. This door was always used for processions leaving the choir at Salisbury and York. At Chichester the choir gates were closed before the last peal for any office, the south door being left open for the ministers of the choir by Story's Statutes. At Hereford and Salisbury the organ always is played during the procession, but only on Sundays and holydays at Wells, and when the procession is returning at Bristol.

At St. Paul's the citizens yearly walked in solemn procession round the tomb of the great bishop, William the Norman, who procured their charter from William I.;[1] and at Wells the grave of Bishop Beckington, the benefactor of the city, was treated with similar honour.

The people in every diocese were required to visit the Cathedral at Pentecost, to pay their Whitsun farthing, but the custom fell into desuetude, though the offering continued to be levied, as at Worcester, in 1825.[2] The cathedral of Chichester is still called by the old folks the High Church.

At Lichfield the pilgrims were required to cross by the ferry over the Minster-pool, and approach the shrine of St. Chad in the south choir aisle. At York the guilds came in solemn procession, in their liveries and with banners, on their anniversaries, to service in the Minster. Wolsey's scarlet hat was carried in procession through the north door of Westminster in 1515.

[1] Malcolm, iii. 46. [2] Noake, 512.

BOOKS IN NAVES — LINCOLN CATHEDRAL — CHAINED BOOKS AT HEREFORD—GONDOMAR'S BID FOR THE GLASS OF CANTERBURY—AND INSCRIPTION AT YORK —SOUTHEY AT HIS STUDIES.

AN ancient desk and chain, preserved at Lincoln in the library, may have been used for the Bible which Henry VIII., in 1537, ordered to be placed in all churches for the perusal of the common people, who came, some to read and some to listen. Bale records, in his narrative of Anne Askew's examination, how she said, 'As I was in the Minster reading upon the Bible the priests resorted unto me by two and two.'[1] The sneering Erasmus saw in the nave of Canterbury 'some books fixed to the pillars, among them the Gospel of Nicodemus.[2] From the sight of a fly on one of the pillars of St. Paul's Bishop Berkeley derived one of his finest theological illustrations. He meditates on the analogy between the building itself and the Christian Church, 'the divine order and economy of the one emblematically set forth by the just, plain, majestic architecture of the other.' The fly upon one of the pillars represents the narrow glance of the free-thinker, its prospect confined to a little part of a single stone in a single pillar, 'the joint beauty of the whole or the distinct use of its parts being inconsiderable.' At Hereford the books in the library retain their chains. Here, in 1798, Southey read the legend of the 'Old Woman

[1] Brooke's Lincoln, 12; Strype's Cranmer, 64, App. 42: comp. Mason's St. Patrick's, p. 163.

[2] Peregrin. Relig. ergo; Op. ii. 361.

of Berkeley' in Matthew of Westminster, which, as it was fastened to the top-shelf by a very short chain, he was compelled to read standing on a number of books piled upon a lectern once used by the librarian. For the ancient glass in a single window of Canterbury, Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, offered to pay its weight in pieces of gold; and he was probably the traveller who set up the inscription in 'old Saxon characters of gold in the chapter-house of York: "Ut rosa flos florum, sic domus ista domorum."'[1] Chaucer represents a foppish parish clerk wearing shoes with 'Paule's windows carven' on them, that is, cut lattice-wise.

SERMONS — LECTURES — PULPITS — AFTERNOON AND EVENING SERMONS—DR. SHAW'S FATAL ILL-ADDRESS —THE FALL OF THE ROOD TOWER OF LINCOLN INTERRUPTS THE PREACHER—THE FRIGHT AT OXFORD —BISHOP AYLMER'S GHASTLY RUSE—NO MORE OF THAT POINT, PETER!—HEYLIN'S DREAM.

At Durham every Sunday a sermon was preached in an iron pulpit from 1 to 3 P.M. in the Galilee, and the great bell was tolled and rung for one hour before to give warning to the town.[2] At Ely the sermon was preached under the lantern; and the throne was used by the Bishop when preacher at Wells.

At Winchester, from the time of the Reformation until 1573, a sermon in lieu of a mass was given at the tomb of William of Wykeham. With his usual

[1] See my Article on Cathedrals prior to the Civil Wars; Gent. Mag. 1858, p. 481, 485.

[2] Rites, 33, 40.

self-complacency, on October 25, 1570, Bishop Horne ordered the fellows and conducts to attend the Cathedral to hear the Divinity lecture, and be examined therein once a month, and 'on every Sunday the whole society to resort to the Cathedral to hear the sermon attentively, without reading of any book.'[1] 'The local statutes of all or the most Cathedral churches,' Hacket says, 'do require lecture sermons on the week days.'[2] Divinity lecturers were instituted at Carlisle, Durham, Peterborough, Lichfield, and Hereford on Litany days.[3] The prælector of Hereford and the prebendary of Wittering at Chichester still give theological lectures; until 1394 St. Paul's exceptionally had no such foundation. Sermons on Wednesdays and Fridays during Lent, which had been the custom before the Rebellion, were revived after the Restoration in some Cathedrals,[4] and in Advent at Durham. At Worcester an afternoon sermon was preached at the charge of the city, and revived after the Great Rebellion, being preached by a minor canon till 1685.[5] Preachers not members of the body wear a gown and not a surplice.

At the Reformation the chapter-house of Canterbury was fitted up with a pulpit, pews, and gallery, with a royal closet dated 1544, to serve as a sermon-house, and after service in the choir the congregation came to hear the preacher; but the disorder which ensued, and the preoccupation of the seats by

[1] MSS. Winton Coll.
[2] Life, 51, 56; see also Grindal's Life, B. i. c. 6.
[3] Whitgift's Life, B. ii. ch. 3, 4. [4] Granville's Lett. ii. 145.
[5] Noake, 591; Tanner MS. xxxiv. 251.

those who would not attend in the church, led to its abandonment, and the incongruous furniture was taken away a few years since, as Gostling says, in 1796.[1] In Gostling's time the pulpit was moveable, and taken from its usual position to a place opposite the throne.[2] At Exeter, Oxford, Hereford, Bristol, Peterborough, Wells, Worcester, Gloucester, and Chichester the sermons were preached in the nave, and the congregation left the choir and migrated thither, whilst at Westminster the dean and prebendaries left their stalls and removed to the eastern part of the choir to hear the preacher.[3] The pulpit in which the residentiaries were required to preach four Latin sermons in the chapter-house still remains in a choir aisle at Hereford; formerly it was placed in the nave, where, as at Ely, all the people of the city came to hear the sermon on Sunday. At Gloucester, Worcester, and Carlisle it was portable, and stood in the centre of the choir[4] as at York.[5] After the demolition of the Preaching Cross at Worcester by the Puritans the nave-sermon was delivered from a pulpit attached to the second pillar from the west end on the north side, facing the Bishop's seat and the Dean's chair, and the stone benches covered with blue cloth, on which the prebendaries sat. The principal citizens occupied a bench covered with arras cloth under the great west window.[6] The pulpit was removed into the choir in 1748. At Norwich the pulpit ran upon wheels, and was brought out from a side chapel on

[1] P. 176. [2] P. 255.
[3] Gent. Mag. L. 364. [4] See Plans in B. Willis' Cathedrals.
[5] Gent. Mag. 1858, p. 481. [6] Noake, 338.

Sundays and holydays; and the same custom prevailed at Christchurch, St. Patrick's, and Kilkenny.

At Salisbury, in the time of Bishop Hume, the sermon was no longer preached in the nave, and the pulpit and seats there being removed, the congregation retained their places in the choir. At York the pulpit used to be brought on preaching days to the first ascent between the ladies' pews, which had been reformed in consequence of the rebuke of Charles I. in 1633;[1] but in the time of Dean Finch was removed to another position. The afternoon sermon has been customary at Exeter since the Restoration, and in the nave since 1859; it was first of late years introduced at Rochester, and is now general. At Ripon until 1848 it preceded evening prayer. On Sundays there is a late evening service at Ely (parochial), Gloucester and Hereford. If the Dean of Canterbury preaches the next senior present says the communion office as far as the offertory. At Lincoln, when an indignant canon declaimed against the bishop, saying, 'Were I silent, the very stones would cry aloud in our behalf,' the great rood tower fell and crushed many.[2] At Oxford, when Bishop Westphaling was in the pulpit, an icicle, formed upon the spire, fell with a crash so loud upon the roof, that the congregation fled in terror, until reassured by the calm demeanour of the preacher. A mediæval prelate showed equal courage and presence of mind. But Bishop Roger exhibited still greater courage when[3] celebrating mass at the high altar of Glou-

[1] Poole and Hugall, 177. [2] Matt. Par. 522.
[3] Ang. Sac. ii. 428, 1163–79.

cester, and the western tower fell; happily the congregation had moved eastward to receive the benediction, and no one was injured. The ruin with a terrible sound shook the very earth, and the congregation, in dread of the immediate fall of the whole building, sought shelter and safety; a cloud of dust concealed every object. Most of the monks fled from the choir, but, with the assistants, he himself stood quiet and unmoved, as if he had neither eyes nor ears. Dr. Shaw, in 1483, in his preconcerted surprise, during his sermon at St. Paul's, at the entry of the Duke of Gloucester, when he was to call out, 'Behold this excellent prince!' was disappointed in his stroke of artifice by Richard failing to come at the right moment, and he made himself ridiculous by having to repeat it.[1] 'It struck him to the heart,' says Stow, 'and within a few days he consumed and withered away.' Bishop Aylmer at St. Paul's used to produce a skull from under his gown to stimulate the flagging attention of the congregation. A stranger interruption occurred at Westminster, when Dean Williams, sitting in the great pew, 'knocked his staff on the pulpit, saying unto Heylin, who was preaching against the Puritans, "No more of that point, Peter;" and the quiet answer was returned, "I have a little more to say, and then I have done." On the night before his death, in a dream, he heard King Charles saying to him, "Peter, I will have you buried under your seat in church, for you are rarely seen but there or at your study."'[2] He had a loyal heart, and finely said of

[1] Hume, iv. 11. [2] Stanley, 449.

his royal master's coronation, that 'heaven's artillery for joy made answer to the Tower guns.' A rebuke from the pulpit in dumb show, perhaps the most likely to effect its purpose ever made, was administered by a tall gaunt dean of Ripon, who having awhile patiently borne the levity of a giddy youth seated on one side of the choir, proceeded amid deep silence to point first to the living face and then to its counterpart, a grinning zany, carved as a corbel upon the opposite wall.

ACROBATS ON STEEPLES—GEORGE III.'S REBUKE—BANKES AND THE DANCING HORSE—ILLUMINATION OF THE DOME OF ST. PAUL'S—THE EARL'S VOW—THE PRIOR AND THE ROPE-DANCER.

'FROM the top of the spire of St. Paul's at coronations, or other solemn triumphs, some for vain glory used to throw themselves down by a rope, and so killed themselves vainly to please other men's eyes.' Thus, a sailor of Arragon delighted Edward VI. by capering on a tight-rope stretched from the battlements of St. Paul's to a window at the Dean's gate, during the procession to his coronation; and in 1555, 'a fellow came slipping upon a cord as an arrow out of a bow from Paul's steeple to the ground, and lighted with his head forward on a greate sort of feather bed,' at the reception of King Philip. In 1553, a Dutchman stood on the top of the steeple and waved a streamer, and kneeled down on the weathercock, for the paltry payment of 16*l.*, but the spectacle, we are told, was not successful, for the wind was high

and the lights would not burn.[1] When a silly fellow did a similar foolhardy trick at Salisbury, and demanded a fee of George III., the king replied, 'As the father of my people, it is my duty to reward those who save, not those who risk, human life.' The S.W. or Lollards' Tower of St. Paul's[2] was connected with a dark story touching the death of John Hunn, a heretic, in 1514; and his body was burned in Smithfield, or, like the Black Monk of Brecon, he might have haunted the cloister. When the Earl of Perch at Lincoln insolently said of the Earl of Chester, 'Have we stayed here all this time for the coming of this dwarf?' the Englishman replied without a jest, 'I vow to our Lady, whose church this is, that before to-morrow evening I will seem to thee taller and greater than this steeple.[3] At Durham, prior Melsonby (elected bishop in 1237) lost the mitre because he had encouraged the feats of a rope-dancer upon a cord stretched between the towers, and the unhappy wretch fell and broke his neck.[4] Bankes and his dancing horse 'Morocco,' which was shod with silver, in 1600 ascended to the top of St. Paul's, and became a proverb and current name.[5] The poor equestrian was afterwards burned to death at Rome as a magician! On February 27, 1872, the dome of St. Paul's was illuminated by three concentric rings of ship-lamps, green, white, and red.

[1] Ellis, Dugd. St. Paul's, 113. [2] Hall, 573.
[3] Dugd. Baronage, i. 142. [4] Raine's Brief Acc.
[5] Boswell's Malone's Shakspeare, iv. 299 n. Gent. Mag. lv. 413.

SINGING ON THE TOWER AT ST. PAUL'S AND DURHAM.

'AT the battlements of the steeple of St. Paul's sundry times were used their popish anthems to call upon their gods with torch and taper in the evenings.'[1] 'On St. Katharine's Day, 1553, after Evensong, began the choir to go about the steeple singing, with lights after the old custom,'[2] or as Machyn picturesquely says, 'Katharine's light went about the battlements of St. Paul's with singing.'[3] It must be remembered that in the fourteenth century the cross on the bell tower, when taken down for repairs, was found to contain relics as a protection against fire and lightning.[4] Knighton[5] says that the monks of Durham remained in the belfry at the Battle of Neville's Cross, and that at the close of the action their hymns of praise and thanksgiving were miraculously heard by the combatants as distinctly as if they had been close by them. Year by year ever after they sang Te Deums in the same place; and 'the custom was observed on the anniversary (May Day) till, in the confusion of the seventeenth century, it was discontinued, but was revived again on the Restoration Day, an occasion of infinite joy to the Church; and an anthem is still sung on the top of the great tower on that day by all the choristers and singers, facing about to every side of the tower progressively, that they may be heard all around.'[6]

[1] Pilkington, 540–1.
[2] Cont. Fabyan's Chron. 712.
[3] Machyn, Diary, 119.
[4] French Chron. of Lond. Camd. Soc. s. a. 1133.
[5] Col. 2591.
[6] Camden, iii. 121.

One side was afterwards omitted, owing to the fall of a chorister.

THE MAYOR IN CATHEDRALS—THE LORD CHANCELLORS' WIGS CAUSE DAMAGE—CHURCHING THE JUDGES.

THE Lord Mayor was accustomed to attend Evensong at St. Paul's on the Feast of All Saints, Christmas, Epiphany, and the Purification.[1] Perhaps his most imposing visit was on November 1, 1561, when after the restoration of the building, he went with all the crafts and eighty torch-bearers, who were indispensable, as the sermon lasted until midnight.

At Norwich, first on the guild day of St. George, and later on the Tuesday before the eve of St. John, the mayor elect went in procession with the corporation on horseback, and after 1772 until 1835, in carriages to the Cathedral, preceded by the dragon, whifflers, swordsmen, musicians, the standards of blue and silver, and crimson and gold, the councillors in gowns, mace-bearer, the city waits, the marshalmen, and the civic authorities, with the sword carried erect. The gates of the close were opened at their approach, and the corporation proceeding through the nave, strewn with sweet-scented rushes or junk until 1835, was received at the choir door by the dean and chapter. Rushes were used in the choir of Canterbury in 1635,[2] as they were on five great Sundays in the year by the constitutions of Lanfranc.[3] The ancient custom of strewing the choir of Bristol with

[1] Stow's Survey, 637.
[2] Laud's Works, v. 469.
[3] Wilkins Conc. i. 345.

sweet-smelling herbs is still observed when the mayor visits the Cathedral in state. Fennel was strewn round the shrine of St. Etheldreda at Ely.[1] At the coronation of George III. the King's herb-woman and six maids strewed the abbey with sweet herbs.[2]

At Exeter, in 1549, the insurgents of the West, who wished to restore the Roman ritual, were at length repulsed, and the siege of the city was raised; the mayor still attends in state on the anniversary, August 6, with the incorporated trades, and his chaplain preaches a commemorative sermon.[3]

Bishop Sparrow (1684) says that he found a custom at Exeter that the mayor and aldermen, when they came from the sermon, were not admitted to the prayers of the choir till they went home and pulled off their gowns, but this custom was abandoned, on condition that the sword-bearer turned down his sword at the choir door.[4] The 'proud troublesome mayor,' as Sancroft called him, quarrelled about the height and make of his chair, and the aldermen sent in carpets for their wives.[5] On July 16, 1708, it was agreed that if Divine service had commenced before the arrival of the mayor, the sword should be dropped at the choir door, and the cap of maintenance removed, but at other times the sword might be carried erect and the cap worn. On January 30, a sword, given by Edward IV. to the city, was carried before the mayor enveloped in black crape.[6]

[1] Junii iv.; Act. Sanct. iv. 521. [2] Ann. Reg. iv. 229.
[3] Britton, 53. [4] Notes and Queries, 2nd Ser. vi. 477.
[5] Tanner, MS. cxli. 116, 117. [6] Britton, 48.

At Canterbury, the mayor's desk in the choir had gilt iron-work for receiving the sword and mace; and the independence of the Cathedral was acknowledged by the serjeant lowering these civic insignia from his shoulder to his arm on entering the precincts. The sword was not placed erect, as at St. Paul's. At Bristol Bishop Thornborough mortally offended the civic functionaries, who seceded in consequence to St. Mary's, Redcliffe, because he pulled down a gallery which the mayor had built near the pulpit, saying he would not have God's House turned into a playhouse. At Chichester the mayor sits in the nave close to the choir steps, on a line with the præcentor's stall. On June 6, 1635, he was forbidden to have the mace borne before him in the choir.[1]

At Worcester, in 1635, he sat in a stall next the bishop or archdeacon.[2] At Gloucester, the wives of the mayor and aldermen had fixed and standing seats.[3] At St. Paul's the churching of the judges, who are received in procession by the clergy, takes place on the first Sunday afternoon in Easter term. They also attend in state at the afternoon service on the first Sunday in Easter term, being received by the Lord Mayor, and the Court of Common Council, all wearing their gowns and carrying nosegays. The portrait of Richard II. was, in 1775, removed to the Jerusalem Chamber, owing to the injury it received from the wigs of successive Lord Chancellors, who sat in a pew below it.[4]

[1] MS. Harl. 2173, fo. 34 b. [2] Laud's Works, v. 492.
[3] Ibid. 480. [4] Dart. i. 67; Gleanings from Westm. Abbey, 219.

ROODLOFT.

At the entrance of the choir stood a screen, always surmounted with the Holy Rood, Mary and John; at York, Wells, Lincoln, Winchester, and Canterbury, it has a central door, which at Exeter, and St. David's, and Chichester, was flanked by two altars, one bearing the title of the Holy Cross: before the Rood at Exeter offending vicars did penance at the Hours for a day and a night. At Salisbury a mortar candle burned before it during matins. At Durham the Jesus altar was flanked by the two rood doors, through which the procession went forth and came in again; the choristers sang the Jesus anthem here every Friday night.[1] At St. Paul's, in 1554, after the new rood had been set up, the following profane incident occurred: 'A merry fellow among a great sort [company] of people, made a low curtsie to it and said, "Sir, your mastership is welcome to towne. I had thought to have talked further with your mastership, but that ye be here clothed in the queene's colours. I hope ye be but a summer's bird, in that ye be dressed in white and greene."'[2]

[1] Rites, 28. [2] Foxe, Actes, iii. 14.

SECTION IV.

DIVINE SERVICE AND CEREMONIES — INSIDE THE CHOIR—REVERENCE TO THE ALTAR — TURNING TO THE EAST AT CARLISLE AND MANCHESTER.

LAUD, at Canterbury, in his revised Statutes, c. xxxiv., required that every member of whatsoever degree or rank should, when they enter the choir, adore the Divine majesty with a devout heart, and make a lowly reverence towards the altar, as is prescribed in the ancient statutes of certain churches,[1] and then turn to the dean and do the like, and also bow the knee in crossing the choir. In the old cathedrals bowing was made to the dean when passing or when leaving or entering the choir. A trace of the former custom still lingers at Christ Church, Oxford, St. George's, Windsor, and was observed until very recent times also at Durham; but that it was once an ordinary custom, we gather from the exceptions of the Committee of the House of Lords, where an objection is raised to 'bowing towards the altar or towards the east many times

[1] Rock, iii. app. 8; Dugdale, 259.

with three *congés*, but usually in every motion in access or recess in the Church.'[1]

At Worcester, 1635, Dean Mainwaring ordered the King's scholars, who used formerly to throng tumultuously into the choir, to go in rank two and two and make their due obeisance, at their coming in,[2] and in the beginning of the present century obeisance was made by members of the congregation when passing across the choir.

On a Sunday, 1641, after the sermon was ended, the canon went before, the petty canon behind him, and the verger before both, 'all three ducking, ducking, ducking as they went from their seats to the quire up to the high altar, where the priests stood till the organs and choir had ceased, and then the priest began to read the afternoon service at Canterbury.'[3]

At Gloucester, Winchester, Hereford, and in other Cathedrals, Laud ordered it to be observed,[4] and it is said to have been made in the present century at Exeter.[5]

A reverence towards the east (in conformity with the Canons of 1640), was still retained in most of the Cathedrals, and when the reader went to the lectern he made an obeisance to the altar in one of the greatest of these churches in 1748,[6] and a 'similar bowing towards the stalls' prevailed. In earlier times the clerks in choir only rose when the

[1] Cardw. Conf. 273. [2] Neal, History of Puritans, ii. 292.
[3] Cathedral News, 18; quoted in Hierurgia Anglicana.
[4] Cypr. Angl. 291-3; Laud's Works, v. 478; Canterb. Doom. 75, 79, 80.
[5] Hierurg. Angl. 366 n.; comp. Brit. Critic, xxv. 388.
[6] Gent. Mag. xviii. 511.

dean entered or left;[1] 'lowly reverence in bowing the head at entrance into the most solemn place of God's worship, the quire,' was practised in Cathedrals in 1682,[2] and at Worcester by members of the congregation also in the beginning of the present century. Farquhar, in one of his plays, introduces a gentleman who in Lichfield Cathedral fees the verger to 'induct him into the best pue,' pulls out his snuff-box, and then, turning himself round, bows to the bishop or the dean.[3]

In the dedication to the Life of Ambrose Barnes, who lived in the seventeenth century, we have the following allusion to the custom of the period: 'What mean these alterations of the Communion tables into stone altars? What mean these rich altar cloths with these Jesuits' cypher embosst upon them? some of our altar pieces are contrived with carved work resembling the lighted tapers of a mass-board' (p. 8); and a writer in 1687 says: 'I went diligently to the public worship, especially to the Cathedral of Carlisle, where in time of public prayer we used all, male and female, as soon as that creed called the Apostles' Creed began to be said, to turn our faces towards the east, and when the name of Jesus was mentioned we all as one bowed and kneeled towards the altar-table as they call it, where stood a couple of Common Prayer books in folio, one at each side of the table, and over them, painted upon the wall, IHS, signifying Jesus.'[4] In Manchester Cathedral, at the singing of

[1] Monasticon, ii. 534.
[2] Granville's Letters, ii. 95.
[3] Works, iii. 22.
[4] Story's Journal, 4.

the Gloria Patri, the whole choir turns round and stands towards the east, as was the custom at Lincoln in 1440, and at Dublin in 1351,[1] and at Salisbury.[2] At Wells genuflexion towards the high altar was made at the elevation of the host,[3] and a reverent inclination at that time was prescribed by Grostete.[4]

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS USED IN CHOIRS—FIDDLERS IN RED VESTS—MUSICAL FESTIVALS—MINSTRELS' GALLERY—MEETINGS OF CHOIRS—AN ABBEY REMOVED ON ACCOUNT OF ITS ORGAN—PURPLE GOWNS OF CHORISTERS—CHOIR SERVICE IN JEOPARDY—PLACE OF ORGAN—ORGANS RESTORED—BEAUTIES OF THE SERVICE AT SALISBURY—SECUNDUM USUM SARUM.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 'in Cathedrals the hymns were sung in a more awakening and improved manner, and, to make the performance further entertaining and solemn, organs and other instruments of music were made use of.'[5] Viols were employed at Exeter, musical instruments at Lincoln in 1631,[6] and the lyre and harp at Hereford; cornets and sackbuts were played in Worcester at the reception of Elizabeth, August 13, 1575, and in 1613.[7] In 1667 cornets were used at Westminster.[8] Pepys humor-

[1] Wilkins, iii. 20. [2] Rock, Ch. of our Fath. iii. app. ii.
[3] St. 1321, MS. Lamb. DCCXXIX. 62, 74.
[4] Brown, Fasc. Rer. i. 410. [5] Collier, Ecc. Hist. vi. 246.
[6] Gent. Mag. 1848, 480.—South tells how the royalist exiles mourned the loss of cathedral service, i. 118.
[7] Noake, 478. [8] Malcolm, i. 248.

ously mentions 'the fiddlers in red vests' playing in the abbey.[1] At Durham and York, when Lord Guildford visited those minsters, 'wind music in the choir' had been only recently disused. Brane, however, mentions twenty years later, in 1700, 'the rich copes and melodious musick of all sorts' at Durham.[2] Lord Keeper Guildford 'being well known in all the choirs wherever he came, the boys failed not to bring him a fair book of the anthem and service, and sometimes the score if they had it, expecting, as they always had, a compensation for their pains.'[3] At Exeter he observed that 'the two side columns that carried the tower were lined with organ pipes, and were as columns themselves.'[4] At Canterbury, among the members of the foundation, Laud appointed, in 1636, two sackbutteers and two corneteers.[5] The choristers of Norwich[6] were required to play on various kinds of musical instruments, the statutes prescribing the service to be sung *cantu organis et jubilationibus.*[7] Ravenscroft in 1621 wrote for organs, lutes, harps, &c.[8] P. Smart complained of pipers at Durham during the Holy Communion.[9] Organs and violins are mentioned at St. Paul's, in a coarsely irreverent work.[10] On November 12, 1702, and in 1700, the Te Deum was sung in that Cathedral with vocal and instrumental music,[11] and at the

[1] Diary, i. 191.
[2] Travels, 169.
[3] Lives of the Norths, i. 279.
[4] Ib. i. 246.
[5] Works, v. 507.
[6] Rubr. xv.
[7] Rubr. xvi.
[8] Pref. Whole Booke of Psalms.
[9] Catal. of Superst. Innov. 26.
[10] Hickeringill's Ceremony Monger, ii. 405.
[11] Dugdale's St. Paul's, Ed. Ellis, 441-447.

Feast of the Sons of the Clergy, December 8, 1720.[1] On August 6, 1788, a full band of music played at the service in Worcester Cathedral.[2] Drums and trumpets are still used on rare occasions at St. Paul's and Westminster, and recently, in the Abbey, Bach's 'Passion-musik' was performed with a full orchestra as a kind of anthem; but the divorce of a modest instrumental accompaniment from the actual services, and the conversion of a Cathedral into a music-hall with its attendant indecencies, began in a slothful and indifferent age, in the so-called 'festival of the Three Choirs,'[3] retaining nothing of the original design of an oratorio except the name. It is to be hoped that this unsuitable means of raising money may shortly be as much of the past as those in vogue at York, Chester, and Westminster, happily long since defunct; and that it will be found that the noblest, most perfect, and becoming instrument in the House of God is the unrivalled organ. George III. commanded the children of the charity schools to be assembled in St. Paul's at his thanksgiving in 1789, and their annual meeting is now one of the most touching and beautiful sights.

In England, as now on the Continent, the organ, it must be remembered, was used only on festivals, as we learn from the Nonne's Priest's Tale of Chaucer:

> His vois was merrier than the mery *Orgon*
> *On Massie Dayes* that in the churches gon.

At Durham one pair was played at daily service, the

[1] Burney's Hist. of Music, iv. 246. [2] Green's Worc. i. 299.
[3] Notes and Queries, 4th Ser. ix. 136; Brit. Crit. xxxiv. 174.

'cryers' being in use on certain feasts, and the large organs over the choir door rivalled only by those of York, and St. Paul's on great festivals.[1] Organs were not numerous, or ordinarily of considerable dimensions. In 1508 the churchwardens of St. Margaret's, Westminster, paid 2*d.* for 'bringing the organs of the abbey into the church and bearing them home again;' but there was a stationary and gigantic instrument given by St. Elphege to Winchester in the tenth century.[2] It required seventy men to fill the wind-chest, which supplied twenty-six pairs of bellows and four hundred pipes, exceeding, as regards manual labour, even Wibert's great bell of Canterbury, which took thirty-two men to ring it.[3] Organists were lay clerks who assisted the choir on principal days and Sundays; the master of the choristers, or a keeper of organs, was the organist in the modern acceptation of the word.

At Winchester an abbey was removed from the neighbourhood to the Cathedral owing to the jarring of the voices of the two choirs.[4]

The organ sometimes stood in the rood loft when it was small and portable, before—and when it became colossal—after the Reformation, and it is still an unsightly object at Lincoln, Norwich, and some other churches. Wren wished the organ to be placed on the north side of the choir of St. Paul's, but Father Smith insisted upon placing it upon the western screen,

[1] Rites, 14.

[2] Wolstan's Poem, iii.; Mabillon. Ann. Ord. Bened. v. 621; Annales Archeol. iv. 25, iii. 281; Mason's Essay on Instrum. Ch. Music.

[3] Dart, Canterb. 180. [4] W. Malm. 173.

and the dean abetted him; the architect contended that the obstruction would impair the view of the entire extent of the building, and when the organ-maker, having made a wrong estimate, finding that the case was too small to contain all the pipes of the new instrument, asked permission to enlarge it, Wren flatly refused to allow any further concession, as 'the beauty of the building was already sacrificed to a box of whistles.' Steele suggested the west end of the nave as the proper position of the organ, and recommended its construction on an enormous scale, so that its majestic notes might resound throughout the whole cathedral. The whole difficulty about the position of organs arises from their gigantic and overpowering disproportion in modern times; formerly, those of larger size were comparatively few, and most were regals or portatives, capable of being moved. The organ was erected in 1783 over the choir screen at Canterbury. Laud recommended the fusion of the two pair of organs at Lichfield into a single 'chair organ.' At Westminster and St. Paul's it is divided now into two parts, one on either side of the choir, and at Worcester in the seventeenth century there were two distinct organs, one at the west end and the other in the choir.[1] Charles I., who contributed 1,000*l.* to one at York (as George III. did as 'a Berkshire gentleman' to that of Salisbury), stipulated that it should be removed from the screen.[2] The organ stood on the north side of the choir at Canterbury in the twelfth century, and at a still later date at Winchester, Worcester, Chester, St. Paul's,

[1] Ecclesiol. xxiv. 321. [2] Hargrove, i. 78.

Lincoln, and Westminster. At Hereford and Canterbury it is now on the south side. The organ is not used on Fridays at Hereford; nor during Holy Week, as at St. Paul's, Westminster, and Chichester, until Evensong on Easter Even. On one of the pinnacles of the organ case at Bristol, a robin took up its abode in 1773, and was regularly fed with crumbs by the sexton till its death in 1787. A poem written on the subject is usually appended to the life of Hannah More.

At Westminster, on the Feast of SS. Simon and Jude, Tallis's service is magnificently sung every year. The late Præcentor Hutchinson, of Lichfield, first introduced the Diocesan meetings of parish choirs in a Cathedral in 1856. At York, in the wooden reredos, there were two doors which opened into a vestry where the Archbishops used to robe themselves at their enthronisation, and afterwards proceeded to the high altar, where they were invested with the pall. Above the screen was a gallery for musicians who played during the celebration of high mass.[1] At Chichester there was a similar arrangement.[2] These doors were also used by the taper-bearers to go behind the screen and there light their candles before the gospel. At Norwich the choristers wear surplices only on Sundays, holydays, and eves, and at other times wear purple gowns, and sit in the organ loft. Dean Pellew removed the lay clerks from their stalls and relegated them to the gallery also; but they have recently been restored to their proper place. In 1661 the choristers of

[1] Hist. of Ch. of York, 45. [2] Hargrove, 81.

Lincoln had no surplices, but only gowns faced with lamb skin.[1] At Oxford, until the recent restoration, the choir sat perched up in galleries on either side.

The tribune of Winchester, the galleries with book-stands over the chapels in the Lady Chapel of Gloucester, and the galleries in the nave of Wells and Exeter, served for the minstrels; and in the latter Cathedral, until recently, at 7 A.M. on Christmas Day, the choir sang to the organ the Old Hundreth Psalm, with a beautiful effect in the solemn dimness of the church at that hour. The galleries over the west doors of Winchester, Chichester, and other Cathedrals, were used by the choir in singing the 'Gloria, Laus et Honor,' as the procession of Palm Sunday entered in. At St. Paul's the effect must have been very beautiful at the marriage of Prince Arthur, when 'all the minstrels, every man after his faculty, one after the other, being all on high in the vaults of the church, did his part in musick continually,' while the bridal procession moved towards the high altar.[2]

In the Synod of Westminster, 156⅔, the motion to remove 'strains of skill, musical performances, and playing on organs' out of Cathedrals was lost in the Lower House of Convocation by one vote only.[3] 'All Cathedrals should be put down where the service of God is grievously abused by piping with organs, singing, ringing, and trowling of psalms from one side of the quire to the other, with the squeaking of chanting choristers, disguised, as are all the rest, in white surplices.'[4] Owing to the want

[1] Ray, Itin. 134. [2] Malcolm, iii. 163.
[3] Collier, vi. 362. [4] Brit. Critic, xxviii. 375: comp. xxvi. 159.

of 'able ministers' in the reign of Elizabeth, it was, in 1584, seriously proposed to Parliament 'that every Dean and Chapter of every Cathedral and collegiate church that did pay yearly wages to singing men and choristers and musicians in their churches, should pay the same in yearly pensions to such pastors as were resident on their benefices which should be found to want sufficient sustentation of living.'[1] Yet in 1559 the royal Injunctions commanded that 'no alterations be made of such assignments of living as heretofore hath been appointed to the use of singing or music in the church, but that the same do remain.'[2] Fuller says it was reported of the Puritan Bishop of Carlisle, Dr. Barnabas Potter, that 'organs would blow him out of the church.' There appears to have been, just before the Great Rebellion, great laxity in the choirmen, who, at Canterbury, absented themselves 'every third week;' at Chichester they were required to 'carry themselves in a respectful manner to the residentiaries,' who were reminded to maintain 'the meetings and hospitable invitations kept quarterly for the choir,' or give in lieu 'money by way of perdition' and as a 'benevolence.'[3]

The organ was silenced, wherever it had escaped destruction, during the Usurpation; and it now is curious to read this entry in the diary of a man of middle age: 'November 4, 1660. To the Abbey, where the first time that I ever heard the organs in a Cathedral.'[4] The Cathedral service was soon after

[1] Strype's Ann. III. i. 320; App. xxxix.: comp. I. i. 269, 537; and Hooper's Works, ii. 151; and I. xvii–xix. [2] Cardw. Doc. Ann. I. 229.
[3] Laud's Works, v. 455, 486. [4] Pepys' Diary, i. 150.

the Restoration restored in all its beauty; for Pope, in his Life of Seth Ward, mentions the celebration of Divine service at Salisbury, 'with exemplary piety, admirable decency, and celestial music.' Just a century before, George Herbert used to go twice a week to the Cathedral, where the music, he said, 'elevated his soul, and was his heaven upon earth.' 'Secundum usum Sarum' (as Osmund's ordinal was observed in the south of England and in several Cathedrals of Ireland and Scotland) became a proverb for acting 'by unquestionable authority and on authentic precedent.'[1]

DOUBLE CHANT—HARMONISED CONFESSION—THE LECTERN—SERVICES—VOLUNTARY—ANTHEM.

A FEW years since the choral service was not sung by the clergy at Peterborough, Oxford, and Salisbury. The varieties in the services with regard to cadences, raising or lowering the note, and the use of a varied melody, have been fully given by Dr. Jebb; and it only remains to add, that at Ely a Confession with harmonized inflexions was introduced by the organist, contrary to propriety, in 1831. The double chant took its origin in a mistake by the assistant organist of Gloucester, about the beginning of the last century.

The Committee appointed by the House of Lords (1643) acquaint us, in one of their captious exceptions, with the first notice of what are technically called Services, alleging it to be an innovation in

[1] Fuller's Worthies, ii. 438.

discipline, the 'singing the Te Deum in prose after a cathedral church way in divers parochial churches, where the people have no skill in such music;'[1] whilst they recommend that 'the musick used in God's holy service in cathedral and collegiate churches be framed with less curiosity,[2] that it may be more edifying and more intelligible, and that no hymns or anthems be used where ditties are framed by private persons, but such as are contained in the sacred canonical Scriptures, or in our Liturgy of prayers, or have publick allowance.'[3]

Dr. Jebb, in his 'Choral Service,' mentions that the Prayers were not sung at Chester, and the dean and canons read the lessons, a duty performed at Westminster by the minor canons. From 1782 until the time of Dean Luxmoore the service was not sung at Gloucester. Since the restoration of the lectern in most of the choirs, the Lessons are read from it, as at Chichester, St. Paul's, Hereford, Chester, York, Lichfield, Ely, Norwich, Westminster, Salisbury, Exeter, Peterborough, Gloucester, and other churches; and at Canterbury, on Sundays and festivals, called locally Precum Days, by the canons; on week-days the First Lesson is read there from the stalls by a minor canon, and the Second by the dean or vice-dean. At Bristol and Winchester, and in most Cathedrals, the lectern at the east end of the choir faces westward; at Peterborough the position

[1] Cardw. Conf. 273.

[2] Comp. England Temp. Hen. VIII. (Ear. Eng. Text. Soc.) P. ii. 134 137.

[3] Cardw. Conf. 274.

is reversed; at Chichester and Hereford it stands before the choir-step. At Durham the Holy Bible is brought by a verger to the reader in his stall. When Brereton was there in 1635, he noticed 'a most stately desk of brass, which was the ninth part of a most mighty candlestick,' [the Paschal] 'which at the dissolution was thrown into an obscure place.'[1] At Lichfield the dean reads from his stall, and in many Cathedrals this is the rule on week-days; the lectern, as at Rochester and Carlisle, being used only on Sunday; at Ely the choir lectern is used on week-days, and that in the octagon on Sundays. At Wells the residentiary is the reader; usually the dean reads the Second Lesson. At York and Lichfield, by old statute, the dean read from his stall.[2] At Norwich in rotation weekly until Dean Pellew's time, a lay clerk read the First Lesson.[3]

In some places, as at York and Lichfield (and at St. Paul's in Clifford's time, and at Christ Church, Dublin, on Sunday mornings in the present century),[4] a voluntary is played after the Psalms, possibly in lieu of the Paternoster and Credo, said privately at this part of the service by the Salisbury use. It is, if brief, a most convenient arrangement, in order to allow the reader time after the conclusion of the Gloria Patri to proceed to the lectern.

Clifford mentions the 'first anthem' after the third collect, and the 'second anthem' after the

[1] Travels, 83.

[2] Monast. vi. 1200, 1257; Dugdale's St. Paul's, 258; App. to 1st Rep. Cath. Comm. 28.

[3] Hacket's Cath. Schools, *41.

[4] Jebb, 317.

sermon, which at Evensong was preached after the Apostolic grace; and a voluntary on the organ followed the blessing.[1] At Chester the Sanctus bell was called the Anthem bell at the time of the dissolution. Anthetheme in the time of Queen Mary, was the text of a sermon,[2] at Norwich in 1703, a 'combination of anthems,' that is, a list for the week following was drawn up.[3] According to Mace, a metrical Psalm, instead of an anthem, was sung at York in the time of Charles I., in harmony with the Elizabethan advertisements. He tells the story of a Dean who could sing common services and anthems, and made the church ring with his voice 'vehement and rattling' once rebuking a choirman who had sung very badly, and the answer of the furious clerk with a stern, angry countenance, 'Sir, except ye mend my wages, I am resolved never to sing better whilst I live.'[4] Griffiths, one of the lay clerks of Worcester, who died in 1821, having been warned by the dean to pay more respect to his superiors, and say 'Sir' in addressing them, on one occasion when the dean only was present and said the service, in repeating the petitions in the Lord's Prayer concluded each with the monosyllable which had hurt his dignity; and on the commemoration of the battle of the Boyne, and once on May 29, came into choir with huge bows of orange-coloured ribbon on his shoes; on another occasion, on Sunday, he discomfited the whole choir by taking offence at the accompaniment of his solo by the organist, and

[1] Divine Service, 1664, pp. 1–11.
[2] Excerp. Hist. 312.
[3] Lamb. MS. 1164.
[4] Musick's Mon. 27.

slamming his book, shouted out, 'Pitt's wrong, Pitt's wrong!'[1] On Litany days the anthem has been restored at Hereford, but is omitted at St. Paul's, Bristol, and Westminster, and in the two latter churches and at Wells, on Sundays, follows the afternoon sermon: at Chester on certain days it was not used;[2] nor at York in the afternoon of Sundays in Lent in 1818.[3] At Christ Church, Oxford, the suffrages for the Queen are sung after the anthem. The choir of Hereford had 'this peculiar quality, that the services and anthems were sung exclusively by priest vicars,' and forty years ago 'many excellent choirs had only recently transferred these songs of Sion to the hands of laymen.' To each of the five canons, a chorister was allotted to attend upon him in Cathedral during his residence and times of preaching.[4] At Ely in 1683, 'residence money' was paid to the choristers.[5]

THE LITANY—LITANY DESK—CANTOR'S SEATS—YORK USE.

At the re-opening of Chichester Cathedral, the Litany was sung at the entrance of the choir by two priest vicars; but the rule is to chant from the stalls. It is sung at Canterbury, York, Lincoln, and Oxford, in the midst of the choir; at Lichfield, and on great occasions at Ely, in the nave; at Christ Church, Dublin, Hereford, Canterbury, Norwich, and Exeter (as before

[1] Noake, 492.
[2] Jebb, 382, 371, 411.
[3] Hargrove, 84.
[4] Hacket's Cath. Schools, 34—5.
[5] Tanner MS. cxli. 40, 47.

1741 at Gloucester), at a litany-desk. Two priest-vicars at Hereford, two minor canons at Durham and St. Paul's, two lay vicars at Lincoln [on the spot where an inscription 'Cantate hic' marks the place once occupied by rulers of the choir], and a priest and a vicar both at Lichfield and Exeter, sing it. At Lichfield, Hacket's Statutes allow two vicars to sing it at the desk up to the Lord's Prayer as at St. Paul's now.[1] In 1634, six out of the sixteen singing men were in orders. At Gloucester, twelve singing men are distinguished from six laymen; at Bristol, four out of ten singing men; at Wells six out of fourteen, and at Hereford all, numbering twelve vicars, were in orders.[2] The Bishops of St. Asaph and Oxford sang the Litany at a desk at the coronation of James II. in 1685,[3] and when George III. was crowned, the Bishops of Chichester and Chester did the same, the choir answering, with the organ.[4]

At Winchester on Sundays the Litany precedes the Holy Communion at 10 and at Ely at 11 A.M., forming a distinct service, as formerly at Canterbury in 1560, when 'Matins were to be done by 8 A.M., and the Litany sung at a later hour.'[5] There is a Litany of very modern use peculiar to York. On Sept. 18, 1547, the Litany was first sung in the English tongue in St. Paul's, between the choir and the high altar, the singers kneeling, half on one side and half on

[1] App. to 1st Rep. Cath. Comm. 28.
[2] Gent. Mag. 1858. Cathedrals prior to the Civil Wars.
[3] Gent. Mag. xxxiv. 351. [4] Ann. Reg. iv. 225.
[5] Strype's Parker, ii. ch. 2.

the other.[1] At Ripon the service is not sung on Litany days.

WEEKLY, EARLY, AND CHORAL CELEBRATIONS—VOLUNTARY INSTEAD OF THE AGNUS DEI—HYMN BEFORE SERMON—COMMUNION OFFICE—LENGTH OF CATHEDRAL SERVICE—NICENE CREED—ANECDOTES OF ARCHBISHOP SUTTON AND MASON—MEN SITTING COVERED—DIVISION OF THE SEXES—REVERENCE AT MENTION OF THE INCARNATION.

THE weekly Communion was first restored, at York, Exeter, and Canterbury, and a choral celebration at Ely and York, and in 1847, at Westminster for the first time since 1761. Dr. Jebb, in 1843, says, 'The choral accompaniments had ceased in all but a few churches, as Durham, Exeter, and Worcester.' Early celebrations have been revived at Wells and Chichester, in term-time of the Theological College; at Chester, on the great festivals and Sundays, except the first in the month; at Salisbury, weekly; at Peterborough, on Saints'-days; and York, on the first Sunday in the month and Saints'-days; at Durham, on the second Sunday in the month; at St. Paul's, weekly, and on festivals; at Lichfield on Saints' days and Hereford, in the Lady Chapel; at Norwich, where there are two celebrations; at Gloucester on special, and at Canterbury on very rare occasions. Two early celebrations were in use on Easter Day at Ripon in 1852, at 5 and 7 A.M.[2] There is choral Communion at Chichester on the greater

[1] Heylin, Hist. of Reform. 42. [2] Cath. Com. Rep. 333.

festivals; at Chester, occasionally; at Exeter, on high festivals and the first Sunday in the month; at Hereford, on the four great festivals; at Peterborough, on those days, and at Ordinations, Visitations, and the installation of a bishop; at York, on the second Sunday in the month and great festivals; at Salisbury, at large diocesan meetings; at Worcester on all days having a Proper Preface; at Durham, once a month; and at Ely, on every Sunday.

At Ripon and elsewhere a voluntary is sometimes played before and after the service. The incongruity of singing the *Sanctus* as an introit was introduced at the Restoration. An introit is now in use at Salisbury, Norwich, Wells, Hereford, Ely, York, and Chichester; at Canterbury a hymn is sung in place of it. In the latter church, on the three great feasts, the *Gloria in Excelsis* is sung to the St. Mark's phrases. At Durham a soft voluntary is played during the communion of the people in place of the *Agnus Dei.* At Chichester, the bishop, when present, always celebrates. The non-communicants, except lay clerks and choristers, in Cathedrals withdrew out of the choir into the nave, in the time of Elizabeth and later.[1] The episcopal benediction was formerly given before the *Agnus Dei.*[2]

At Westminster and St. Paul's, the canon, after intoning the Nicene Creed, went to the pulpit at

[1] Robertson, How shall we Conform? 197; Brief Disc. of False Church, 101; Cat. of Super. Innov. 1642, p. 28; Ecclesiol. xvi. 297, 2; Rep. Rit. Comm. App. E. p. 414. Women are excluded from the choirs of Hereford, Lichfield, and Chichester.

[2] Wilkins' Conc. ii. 312; Rutland Papers, 22.

once if he was also the preacher. At Canterbury it was the custom for the dean and canons to wait on the Primate in his throne in order to conduct him to the pulpit before the Creed was finished. Archbishop Manners-Sutton was the first to mark his disapprobation of this bad custom, by resolutely keeping his place until the Amen was concluded. Mason, the friend of Gray, when præcentor of York, had a theory that Creeds ought not to be sung, and he stopped the chanting of this Creed. At the coronation of George III., the archbishop 'began the Nicene creed and the choir sang it.'[1] At St. Paul's choral communion was discontinued in a summary and singular manner; hitherto the dean, incompetent to sing, had a minor canon to the eastward of him, at the 'north end,' who actually sang the service, concealed, but Van Mildert, who prided himself on his fine voice, undertook to 'say prayers' himself.

In 1812, it is said, at Norwich 'the Nicene Creed is chanted, not sung,[2] contrary to the practice which obtains in every other Cathedral;' after the Gospel is finished, 'instead of a single note on the choir organ merely to give the choir a certain pitch, comes a terrific blast of three octaves on the full organ, and off start the boys.'[3]

Cardinal Pole, in 1556, ordered veiling of bonnets and bending knees in Hereford Cathedral, when the words were sung, *Et Incarnatus ex Spiritu*, and *Et Homo factus est.* Men sat covered in Cathedrals until Laud forbade the custom, and a picture of Bishop

[1] Ann. Reg. iv. 225. [2] Comp. Cosin. Works, i. App. xxviii.
[3] Gent. Mag. lxxxii. p. 222.

Cox's funeral in 1581 showed the large congregation sitting in the choir of Ely, to hear the sermon, 'having their bonets on.'[1] At Westminster and Canterbury the clergy offer before the altar kneeling. The division of sexes at Hereford, with the men on the north and the women on the south side in choir, and at Holy Communion, according to the rubric of 1549, at Durham, was long observed.

Duke Cosmo III. mentions a hymn sung before the sermon at Exeter, as is the case now at Bristol. At St. Paul's, after the Restoration, a verse anthem followed the sermon, and a voluntary took the place of the Sanctus; a full anthem being sung after the third collect. At Christ Church, Oxford, there was a voluntary before and a verse anthem after the sermon.[2] The 'singing of a common psalm after sermons' took its origin at St. Paul's, Bishop Hacket informs us, and was observed 'in Westminster Abbey from Bishop Andrewes' to Bishop Williams' time,[3] and in the opening of the Convocation of 1562 in St. Paul's.' In 1644, during the siege of York for eleven weeks, when 'the three armies of the enemy planted their guns against the church of set design in prayer time,' so that 'cannon bullets came in and bounced from pillar to pillar,' and then according to 'a custom not in any other Cathedral,' 'before the sermon[4] the whole congregation of the besieged royalists sang a psalm together, with the quire and

[1] Peck's Desid. Cur. ii. 574; Comp. Canon xviii.

[2] Ecclesiol. xxiii. 254.

[3] Life of Hacket, edited by me, 128, notes.

[4] As at Lichfield in 1853.

organ' 'thundering in so as to make the very ground shake under them.'[1] Cosin, however, mentions at Durham congregational singing of psalms, or anthems after the sermon.[2] Probably such additions contributed to the fact recorded by Bishop Hacket in his sermon on church festivals, that 'people of purpose declined cathedral churches, and never came at them, because Divine service is there continued an hour longer at least than in parochial congregations.'[3] At Westminster, the service in Strype's time lasted on Sundays from 8 to 11, and on weekdays from 9 until near that hour, which it reached on Litany and holydays. In the afternoon it lasted from 4 till 5, or after.[4] Ray mentions at St. David's 'a handsome chapel of Bishop Vaughan, where sitting he had windows so contrived into another chapel behind, called St. Mary's Chapel, that he might see five masses said together at five several altars.' He adds that, 'the bell-ropes hung down into the choir.'[5]

TRACES OF BASILICAN USE AT CANTERBURY—POSITION OF THE CELEBRANT.

An interesting relic of the old basilican form and use lingered at Canterbury in 1564; the Holy Table was there set east and west at the time of celebration; the priest who ministered, with the epistolar and gospeller, at that time wearing copes: but when there was no Communion, the minister, using a sur-

[1] Mace, Musick's Mon. 19.
[2] Works, i. App. xxviii.
[3] Plume's Century, 707.
[4] Annals, II. b. ii. App. x.
[5] Itin. 173.

plice only, stood on the east side of the table (standing north and south) with his face towards the people.[1] Bede records an altar of St. Gregory almost in the midst of the north 'Porticus,' which, Thorn adds, stood on the site of the Lady Chapel.[2] It is not improbable that the position of two priests at the altar, 'the one at the one end and the other at the other, representing the two Cherubim at the mercy-seat,'[3] may be a trace of the old arrangement of the 'ministers,' as in the Ambrosian rite, the celebrant standing in the midst. Wren and Cosin celebrated at the west side of the altar, turning their backs to the people.[4]

GOSPEL-DESKS: CANTERBURY AND ST. DAVID'S — GOSPELLER AND EPISTOLAR — CUSHIONS — ALTAR PALLS — ALTARWISE — QUEEN ELIZABETH'S DISLIKE OF AN ILLUSTRATED SERVICE BOOK — CATHEDRAL ALTARS IN THE TIME OF CHARLES I. — CONSECRATION OF ALTAR PLATE — ALTAR CROSSES — ST. ETHELWOLD'S PIETY — STONE ALTARS — CREDENCE — ALTAR CANDLES.

UNTIL 1552 or later, 'in choirs and places where they sing,' the Lessons, Gospel, and Epistle were still sung to a plain tune. Clifford mentions, in Cathedrals, the singing 'of the heavenly adoration, "Glory be to Thee, O Lord."' At Canterbury,

[1] Strype's Parker, i. 365.

[2] Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. iii.; Thorn, col. 1765.

[3] Andrewes, Minor Works, 150.

[4] Parentalia, 14, 104; Jo. of Ho. of Lords, 1641, p. 313; Cosin's Works, 1, lxxviii.

Gostling[1] mentions that before the altar steps were changed in their position, in the middle of the lowest stone there was a rounded projection with a square hole in it: this, like a socket, still existing at St. David's, held the foot of the lectern for the Gospel. At St. Paul's the gospeller and epistolar stand and kneel at the south side of the altar, as at the reopening of Hereford[2] and Dublin,[3] and the former crosses to the north side to read the Gospel, as at Exeter, where the gospeller and epistolar stand on the south side of the altar until the Prayer for the Church Militant, and then, with the assistant clergy, kneel on cushions facing eastward. At Chichester the south side is provided with a book-stand and kneeling cushions. At Durham the gospeller and epistolar stand at their proper sides before two desks facing eastwards; at York they also occupy their correct position.

The Holy Table was set 'altarwise'—'an idiom peculiar to us English'[4]—in all cathedrals. Strype relates the indignation of Queen Elizabeth, when the Dean of St. Paul's set before her a service book with German illustrations. In 1661 two silver candlesticks and a lectern were provided in Worcester Cathedral,[5] and of Durham Minster Brereton, in 1635, said, 'a stately altar, all of fine (black branched) marble standing upon a frame of (six) marble pillars.'[6] With the cherubim it cost 2,000*l.*[7] At Hereford, in 1635, the altar was 'railed out so that none were suffered

[1] P. 256. [2] Eccles. xxiv. 21. [3] Ib. xxiii. 253. [4] Lestrange, 258.
[5] Noake, 326. [6] Travels, 83; Gent. Mag. 1858, p. 481.
[7] Fuller, Ch. B. Hist. x. p. 173.

to come to it but when they received or read the Gospel.[1] In the early part of the seventeenth century stone altars were erected at Durham and Worcester.[2]

St. Ethelwold of Winchester, in a season of famine, broke up the sacred plate and gave the proceeds to the poor, saying it was better that metal should succour the want of the sorrowful than serve the pride of the priest.[3]

Laud consecrated the altar-plate at Canterbury,[4] and Bishop Towers at Peterborough, where, in 1634, a 'corporal of cambricke edged with bone lace, and a cloth for the Litany desk,' were in use.'[5] Crosses were set up, at Winchester, 1636, and Lichfield, 1635, over the altar,[6] and were removed, in 1644, from St. Paul's,[7] but the cross has been replaced there recently. Neal says that the altar vessels of Cathedrals underwent a solemn consecration; on it were placed at Canterbury, on Bishop Andrewe's model, 'two candlesticks with tapers, a basin for alms, cushion for the service book, a silver gilt canister for the wafers, lined with cambric lace, the ton on a cradle (for wine), a chalice covered with the aire (the Greek aer) embroidered with coloured silk, two patens, the tricanale, called at Hereford in mediæval times a trenacle, for holy water, a round ball with a screw cover, out of which issued three pipes (a cruet with water for the mixed chalice), and near it was

[1] Brereton's Travels, 184.
[2] Canterbury's Doom, 13.
[3] W. Malm. 169.
[4] Hist. of Puritans, ii. 567.
[5] MS. Notes in Cath. Libr.
[6] Canterbury's Doom, 80.
[7] Walker's Suff. of the Clergy, 13.

the credentia, a side-table with a bason and ewer on napkins, and a towel to wash before the consecration, and three kneeling stools (for celebrant, gospeller, and epistolar). And on some altars were the incense pot, and a knife to cut the sacramental bread.'[1] The credence has been in use time out of memory at Manchester.

INCENSE AT ELY—WAFER BREAD—CREDENCE TABLE —BENEDICTION OF CHORISTERS—ALTAR LIGHTS.

WARBURTON gave up the cope because it discomposed his wig, Dr. Green gave up incense because it spoiled his smell of snuff. 'Cole often heard Mr. Soane Jenyns, who lived at Ely when he was young, say, as also Messrs. Bentham and others say, that it was the constant practice on the greater festivals at Ely to burn incense at the altar in the Cathedral till Dr. Thomas Green, one of the prebendaries, and now Dean of Salisbury, 1779, a finical man who is always taking snuff up his nose, objected to it under pretence that it made his head to ache.'[2] Incense was burned at the coronation of George III.[3] Cosin mentions in 1637 'using wafers at the Sacrament at Westminster and many other places.'[4] The credence is on the north side at Lichfield, St. Paul's, Salisbury, Exeter, York, Ely, Hereford, Chichester, and Norwich (in a side chapel), and on

[1] Hist. of Puritans, ii. 223-4; Cosin's Works, l. pr. xxiv.
[2] Add. MSS. 5873, fo. 82 b.
[3] Thomson in Book of Fragments, 206; Add. MS. B. M. 5873, fo. 82b; comp. Evelyn's Diary, III. 114. [4] Works, v. 518.

the south at Llandaff. At Canterbury the elements are placed on a shelf which serves as a credence.

Whenever the late Bishop of Exeter was celebrant, after the conclusion of the service the choristers were ranged in two lines on either side of the choir aisle in order to receive his benediction.

Lighted candles on the altar were still in use after the Restoration, as Hickeringill in 1682 speaks of them, and cringing to the east to the altar.[1] A large contemporary print of the coronation of William and Mary at Westminster in 1689, shows 28 tapers burning on the altar, and eight upon the retable. An engraving in 1698 shows the altar of St. Paul's with two lighted candles, in accordance with a view in Gunton's 'Peterborough' of the altar of that Cathedral previous to 1643. There is a tradition that the four standard candlesticks now in the choir of Ghent, once belonged to St. Paul's. They were made at Antwerp, and bear the arms of the Tudors and their donor, Bishop Trieste; having been sold in the Great Rebellion.[2] The altar candlesticks at Bristol, now kept only in store, were taken from the Spaniards at the siege of Vigo in 1709. At Exeter, as at Salisbury, the altar had two candlesticks of brass, and a cushion with a service book on it: the pall was of red velvet; and upon a second cushion were a basin and ewer and two chalices. At the back were Moses and Aaron and the sacred monogram.[3] So at Bristol, in 1635, Moses stood bareheaded whilst Aaron wore a

[1] Black Nonconformist, Works, ii. 87.
[2] Keryn Volkaersbeke, Églises de Gand, i. 167.
[3] Cosmo the Third's Travels in England, fo. 48.

cardinal's cap.[1] Candlesticks still stand on the altars of Canterbury, Manchester, St. Paul's, Oxford, Hereford (two sets, ferial and dominical), Durham, Wells (of the time of Queen Anne), Westminster, Rochester, Chichester, and York; but the tapers are only lighted on dark afternoons. As a trace of old usage they are placed on the altar only at the time of celebration at Salisbury, Ely, Lichfield, Exeter, St. Patrick's, and Christ Church, Dublin. At the beginning of this century they were regularly lighted on Sunday mornings at Durham as if in anticipation of a celebration.

The cushions on the altar, which have lately disappeared, were the last relic of the 'codde' or pillow for the missal, and in old prints the alms basin (no doubt the successor of the ewer and basin used at celebrations) is seen at the back of the altar resting on a cushion; the last instance of it probably was at Gloucester.[2] Cruets for the ablutions, made of crystal and silver, are in use at St. Paul's. Flower-vases are used at Chichester.

In 1634 Winchester possessed a hanging of velvet wrought with gold for the altar, and others of cloth of tissue and cloth of gold filled with pearl wire. A stately pall of cloth of gold in 1635 was laid on the altar of Durham at the time of celebration by the Bishop, who wore a new red embroidered cope wrought full of stars.[3] There were also two rich copes with round capes. Incidentally the doors in a reredos have been mentioned as giving admission to

[1] Brereton's Travels, 178. [2] Ib. 83.
[3] At Canterbury a silver-plated Bible is placed on it.

a bishop's place of robing; at Winchester, however, they opened on St. Swithin's shrine, from which the relics were brought out to be laid on the altar at festivals, and in some places the ministers of the altar lighted their tall tapers here before the elevation in the mass.[1] At Durham the Book of Life, or Benefactors, was laid upon the altar.[2] Chichester has a superb jewelled frontal, and a rich frontal and super-frontal were given to Rochester in 1867.

At Salisbury the altar-cloth was violet when Duke Cosmo visited the Cathedral.

ST. PAUL'S—CARLISLE, ANGELS HOLDING LAMPS—DURHAM—LIGHTS: YORK, BRANCHES—CANTERBURY—CANDLEMAS.

MOORE, the poet, mentions that on May 6, 1822, gas was first introduced at St. Paul's. In these days, when it is employed to light Cathedrals and even ingeniously arranged to follow the architectural lines and heighten the interior effect on certain occasions, as at St. Paul's Cathedral at the funeral of the Duke of Wellington, or the Thanksgiving Day of 1872, we are likely to let the tradition of former lighting pass out of mind, and what were these jets to the 1400 serges carried at the funeral of Henry V. at Westminster?[3] or to the grand range of lamps suspended by chains from the hands of gigantic angels, which terminate the hammer-beams in the superb ceiling of Carlisle?[4] At Durham 'silver chains held three basins of the like metal

[1] Annal. S. Albani. i. 104. [2] Rites, 15. [3] Dart, ii. 37. [4] Billings, lxxiv.

containing great candles, which did burn continually both day and night in token that the house was always watching to God.'[1] The ancient Statutes are very stringent and precise in laying down the number, size, and weight of the tapers, torches, wax serges and candles employed in Divine worship. After the Reformation, when no part of the service was any longer said by rote, not only the bishop's throne had its two candles, but similar conveniences were added along the stalls; and in the seventeenth century pendant branches, of which a specimen remains at Chichester, supplied the want which had ensued by the wholesale destruction of the glorious chandeliers and crowns of former times. At York, about a century since, 'in winter, from All Saints to Candlemas, the choir was illuminated at evening service by seven large branches, besides a small wax candle fixed at every other stall. Three of these branches were the gifts of "Sir Arthur Ingram, anno 1638," as appears by an inscription on each; he also settled 4*l.* per annum on the church for finding them with lights. These, with two large tapers for the altar, are all the lights commonly made use of; but on the vigils of certain holydays the four grand dignitaries of the Church had in 1818 each a branch of seven candles placed before them at their stalls.'[2] One dated 1820 stands at the back of the altar in the Lady Chapel of Lichfield. In 1684 at Worcester the choir had fifty-four and the nave fourteen tin shells serving as sconces for lights.

[1] Rites, 12.

[2] Hargrove, 85; Hist. of York, 47.

In 1748, Mr. John Allen left 200*l.* to the Dean and Chapter of York for providing lights for the winter service: two brass sconces of twenty-four lights each (c. 1726) hung in the choir of Canterbury.[1] Bishop Cosin being bitterly and basely maligned by Peter Smart, was compelled to explain that 'in winter time upon the communion table were never set more than two fair candles, with a few small sizes near to them, which they put there of purpose that the people all about might have the better use of them for singing the Psalms and reading the Lessons out of the Bible, but 200 was a greater number than they used in all the church, either upon Candlemas night or any other.'[2] Dr. Donne, in a sermon at St. Paul's, says, 'Your custom celebrates Candlemas with many lights.' Cosin did not deny the article which charged him with allowing 'the company of boys to come in with lighted torches in their hands at the choir door, bowing towards the altar at their first entrance, bowing thrice before they lighted their tapers, and withdraw, bowing so oft towards the altar, the organ all the time going.'

[1] Gostling, 261. [2] Cosin's Works, lxxviii.

THE PATRIARCHAL CHAIR BEHIND THE ALTAR; AND AT NORWICH—BISHOP'S THRONE AT CHESTER THE BASEMENT OF A SHRINE—LEOFRIC'S ENTHRONISATION BY A KING AND QUEEN—THE PONTIFICAL CHAIR—SEATS OF THE CELEBRANT AND MINISTERS—THRONE—COLLATERAL SEATS FOR CHAPLAINS—THE THRONE OCCUPIED BY LAY PERSONS—A DESERTED CHOIR.

According to Ædmer, 'at the western part,' of Canterbury 'there was an altar consecrated to the Virgin: at this altar of Our Lady, when the priest celebrated the Divine Mystery, he had his face to the east, turned towards the people who stood below. Behind him to the west was the pontifical chair removed from the Lord's Table, being near the church wall.'[1] An archbishop having the pall was always enthroned by the prior taking him within his arms reverently, a relic of an old custom of bishops carrying their new brother to his throne;[2] the marble chair then stood in front of the shrine of St. Blaise. At the close of the last century (1796), Gostling mentions the patriarchal chair as still standing between the altar and chapel of the Holy Trinity, and 'upon the same level with that,' raised above the pavement of the altar by several steps (p. 240). In allusion to this position, Gervase says: 'above the low wall, in the presbytery in the circuit,' behind and opposite to the altar, was the patriarchal seat,

[1] Twysden, Decem Scriptores, 1292.
[2] Maskell, iii. 295, 6.

formed out of a single stone, on which, according to the custom of the Church on high festivals, the archbishops were wont to sit during the solemnities of the mass until the consecration of the Sacrament; they then descended to the altar of Christ by eight steps.'[1] At Norwich, the central arch in the apse had a stone chair for the bishop, above the rest, ascended by steps at the back of the altar, and the large arch and the basement of the throne are still to be seen in the processional path: the bishop being as much elevated when he occupied it as his brother of Durham was, seated on the tomb of Hatfield, in that glorious church, 'being enthroned,' as Eustace playfully remarked, 'in more than papal eminence.' At Chester he sits upon the shrine of St. Werburgh.

At Exeter Bishop Leofric was installed in his pontifical chair by the King and Queen,[2] who led him up by the hand. At Peterborough the Bishop's chair or sedes, used by him in his pontifical acts, was of stone, but in its proper position on the north side of the altar. Except at Ely and Durham and Carlisle, where he occupies the abbot's stall, the throne—that is, his cathedra of dignity, in his capacity as head of the Cathedral—is on the south side of the choir, between the stalls and the presbytery. At St. David's and Hereford there are collateral seats for his chaplains. The south side was chosen as the more honourable side, doubtless as being on the right of the altar in facing the east, and occupied also by the celebrant, who, when he was removed from the east side of the altar,

[1] Gervase, in Decem Script. 1294-6; and Somner, App. 441.
[2] Monasticon, ii. 256.

followed the course of the sun, as in processions. At Westminster Edward I. gave a wooden chair containing the stone of coronation from Scone to serve as the celebrant's seat.[1] At Salisbury there were only seats set for the purpose (sedes paratæ). It is a noticeable fact that Exeter, Durham, and St. David's, in the old Cathedrals before the Reformation, alone have structural seats[2] in this position; therefore, the north side of the altar was given up to the Bishop's 'see,' where he had ample room for changing his habit and attendance by his ministers; it was on the south in Stigand's episcopate at Winchester.[3] The throne of Exeter was taken down and concealed in the Great Rebellion, and after the Restoration was replaced. The ancient chair of oak of the thirteenth century still remains at Hereford.

Lay persons of royal rank were accommodated in the choir. Henry VII. occupied the Dean's seat at York.[4] At Chichester, on Feb. 7, 1679, the Duke of Monmouth was welcomed by 'the great men of the Cathedral, with bells and bonfires.' Dr. Edes (the precentor) the next day 'conducted him to the church from the cloister into the choir. He was ushered into the dean's seat with a voluntary upon the organ. Before sermon a part of the first Psalm was ordered to be sung.'[5] On Sept. 10, 1682, the Duke of Monmouth, 'the Protestant duke,'

[1] Walsingham, 68.

[2] The Grey Friars' Chronicle mentions the destruction of 'the place for the priest, deacon and sub-deacon' in St. Paul's, at the time when 'amices and calabre' were suppressed.

[3] Ang. Sac. i. 294. [4] Leland, Coll. iv. 191.

[5] Sussex Arch. Coll. vii. 167.

was conducted to and from the Cathedral by the mayor and corporation, and Dr. Fogg preached a political sermon.[1] On Friday, June 2, 1690, William III. attended service at Chester, seated in the bishop's throne;[2] and at Exeter, where the canons did not choose to appear in their stalls (only some of the choristers and prebendaries attending), he repaired in military state to the Cathedral, and mounted the bishop's seat; Burnet stood below: the singers, robed in white, sang the Te Deum. When the chant was over, Burnet read the Prince's declaration; but as soon as the first words were uttered, prebendaries and singers crowded in all haste out of the choir.[3] At Westminster, when the dean read King James the Second's declaration, all the congregation left the church, except a few prebendaries, the choristers, and Westminster boys.[4] The allotment of stalls to laymen beginning with one in Salisbury Cathedral given by James I. to the regius professor of civil law at Oxford, reached its height when the eminent philanthropist, E. Colston, was actually permitted to put his initials and coat of arms over the archdeacon's seat at Bristol, which had been permanently appropriated to his sole use.

In 1624, when it was considered important to explain the nature of the English service, the French ambassadors with the lords and their train occupied the stalls, the secretary, Villoclere, with singular indecency wearing his hat, whilst the choirmen in rich copes sang exquisite music in Westminster Abbey.

[1] Cuitt's Chester, 319.
[2] Hemengway, ii. 244.
[3] Macaulay, ii. 493.
[4] Burnet's Own Times, ii. 111.

At Ely, Durham, and Salisbury the chancellor of the diocese sits next to the bishop, and at Carlisle in the abbot's stall, and at Norwich next to the dean. At Worcester, in 1506, the prior questioned the chancellor's right to sit in choir officially, as he had no place of duty; the prior claimed to sit in the bishop's place, and in the prelate's absence the chancellor's seat had been next the prior.[1]

A ROMAN 'ARCHBISHOP' AT YORK—MOCK BISHOP OF CARLISLE—KEN'S PROTEST AT BATH—MASS SUNG IN DURHAM CATHEDRAL AND RIPON MINSTER.

At York a fine pastoral staff is preserved, which belonged to Smith, who was nominated Archbishop of York by James II. in 1687, and was wrested from his hands by the Earl of Danby, as he was going in solemn procession from the Roman Catholic Chapel, in the manor near St. Mary's Abbey, to the Minster, where his influence had prevailed on the authorities to open the great doors for his reception. Prince Charles Edward, at Carlisle, installed James Cappock as bishop of the see in 1745; he was hanged soon after by the butcher Duke of Cumberland, who put all the Scottish prisoners into ward in the Cathedral, which they 'made a most nasty church.' A ring used for their detention was till lately pointed out in the north choir aisle.

Before the altar of Christ Church, Oxford, Cranmer was formally degraded on February 14, 1555, as he had 'sat,' said Bonner, in St. Paul's, 'upon an altar to judge others.'[2]

[1] Noake's Worc. Cath. 127. [2] Froude, vi. 407.

At Bath, when Father Huddlestone[1] set out the altar in the presence of James II. according to the Roman ritual, Ken mounted the pulpit in the nave, and inveighed against the act. Shortly after, he made a protest against deprivation in his own cathedral at Wells. In the rising of the North, 1569, from St. Andrew's Day to December 4, 'they sang Mass, Matins, Evensong, and other service in the quire, and went in procession twice or thrice after the Crosse,' within the Cathedral of Durham, before a great throng of people.[2] Two altars were set up, and holy bread and water were distributed. On November 19 mass was celebrated in the Collegiate Church of Ripon, when Richard Norton displayed his memorable banner.

THE BUCK AND DOE OFFERED AT ST. PAUL'S—A LAMB AT YORK—A STAG, HORSES AND CHARIOT AT DURHAM—BURNING BONDS—ULPHUS' HORN BEFORE THE ALTAR OF YORK—THE CONFESSOR—THE HORN OF CARLISLE—KING JOHN'S CUP—THE STAFF OF ROCHESTER—ST. ANSELM'S TE DEUM—KING HENRY'S SPURS.

As at St. Edmundsbury a white bull was offered, and at Westminster the fishermen of the Thames presented a salmon[3] and were feasted afterwards, so on the day of the commemoration of St. Paul's, by a

[1] Warner's Bath, 257.
[2] Depositions, &c. Surt. Soc. Publ. 154, &c.
[3] Ware's MS. Custumal, fo. 134.

bequest of the knightly family of Le Baud, from the time of Edward I., a fat buck in summer was carried by a servant attended by members of the family through the midst of a procession to the high altar, where it was received by the Dean and Chapter, who gave twelve pence to the huntsman for an entertainment; and on the Conversion of St. Paul a doe was offered by a servant. Until the time of Elizabeth the reception was made at the choir steps by the canons, wearing garlands of flowers on their heads, and the horns of the buck were carried in procession on the top of the spear round the nave with a great noise of horn blowers [1] In 1557, the buck's head was carried on a pole, and 'forty horns blew before all the priests of London in copes.'[2] At York on Lammas Day the tenants of the chapter lands brought up a lamb to the high altar, whilst the city waits played their liveliest strains. At Durham the Nevilles annually offered a stag for the manor of Raby on the feast of St. Cuthbert in September. In 1290, Ralph de Neville, a young brawler who used to wind his horn as he entered the precincts, claimed an entertainment by the Prior for his retainers; and the Prior in consequence refused to receive the stag when offered before the shrine. Ralph's men began to carry the stag to the kitchen, the monks opposed them, and words ended in blows; the laymen attacked the monks serving at the altar, the monks replied by wielding the tapers which they carried; the stag remained as their prize of victory, and Ralph

[1] Dugdale's St. Paul's, Ed. Ellis, 12. [2] Machyn, 141.

and his followers departed without their usual dinner in the hall, but disdained to carry away the venison.[1] The usual day for offering was Holy Cross, so that when Robert Neville died they sung the stave, the oldest rhyme of the north,—

> 'Wel qua sal thir hornes blau,
> Holy Rod thi day?
> Now is he dede and lies law
> Was wont to blaw thaim ay.'

Edward the Confessor was solemnly offered as an infant at the altar of Ely. In England the offering of loaves and a little tun of wine by a bishop at his consecration does not appear to have lasted for any long time. On March 17, 1190, the gentlemen of Yorkshire[2] rushed into the sacristy of the Minster, where their bonds to the Jews were kept, and burned them in a mass in the midst of the church, a far different scene from that when Ulphus, who, filling his horn (still preserved in the vestry) with wine, drank and offered devoutly with it and a seal, on his knees before the high altar, to God and St. Peter all his lands and revenues.[3] Henry II. gave a horn of ivory conveying the liberties of Inglewood Forest at Carlisle, where Ray saw 'preserved two elephant's teeth' (Bishop Lyttelton calls them teeth of a sea-fish) 'fastened in a bone like a scalp, which they call the horns of the altar;'[4] those now in the upper sacristy look like the horns of a small deer, but Brane says, 'two great unicorns' horns of great value,

[1] III. Script. Dunelm. 74. [2] Hemingford, c. xliv. in Gale ii. 518.
[3] Camden, III. ii.; Dugdale's York; Archæol. i. 169.
[4] Itin. 162; Archæol. iii. 22, v. 342.

by an ancient custom were placed upon the altar.'[1] King John, on November 21, 1200, gave a golden cup to one of the minor altars of Lincoln. The monks of Canterbury claimed the privilege of having the pastoral staff of Rochester laid upon their altar during the vacancy of the see, and of delivering it to the next bishop.[2] Rufus ordered his solemn vow to be announced at the high altar of Gloucester, and when, in accordance with it, St. Anselm was nominated to the primacy, the bishops dragged him into the Minster, the joyful Te Deum strangely mingled with his cry, 'It is nought that ye do, I do not consent.'[3] Lord Neville offered at St. Cuthbert's shrine, 'in the most solemn and humble manner, after the battle done, his own banner and the ancients of the King of Scots, and other noble men, jewels, and the holy rood crosse which had given name to the fair abbey of Edinburgh,[4] ensigns and trophies of a great victory, and a great banner to the realm, and decent ornament to the Church.' Henry III. offered the spurs which he wore at his coronation, at the Lady altar of Westminster.

Edward I., in solemn procession, visited Carlisle, and offered up the litter in which he had journeyed for so many months, and as he left the Cathedral called for his horse, and rejoiced to feel himself once more like a soldier in his saddle,[5] as he set out for his last march.

[1] Travels, 206. [2] Godwin, 397.
[3] W. Malmesb. 80, 82. [4] Davies, 5.
[5] Clifford's Life of Edward I. 323.

FLAGS IN CHURCHES — BANNERS USED AT PETERBOROUGH—BURIAL OF THE BANNERS.

ONE of the banners carried by the barons of the Cinque Ports, at a coronation was offered at the shrine of Canterbury. Edward IV. after leading Henry VI. a captive to the Tower, went in triumph to St. Paul's, where he offered at the altar with an affectation of piety the standard of the fallen king. In 1485 Henry VII. offered at St. Paul's three standards of St. George, the Red Fiery Dragon, and Dun Cow, in honour of his descent from Cadwallader and Guy Earl of Warwick, with the Tudor colours green and white, after the crowning battle of Bosworth Field.[1] Banners were suspended round the shrine of St. Cuthbert. The famous banner of the saint, which was at the winning of Flodden Field and many other battles (1385 and 1401), was carried in great processions,[2]—

> 'Where his cathedral huge and vast
> Looks down upon the Wear,'

in which, as Robert Hegge said, 'as in a glass of crystal it might behold the beauty of its walls.' Archbishop Thurstan, in the famous 'Battle of the Standard,' at Northampton, led out to battle the sacred car crowned with a cross, and hung with the banners of York and Ripon, which the Scottish king addresses in the old ballad :—

[1] Stow's Ann. 471 ; Baker's Chron., 236. [2] Davies' Rites, 80.

The holy Cross
That shines as bright as day,
Around it hung the sacred banners
Of many a blessed saint,
St. Peter, and John of Beverley,
And St. Wilfrid there they paint.

At St. Paul's, in September 1588, twelve standards captured from the ships of the Spanish Armada decorated the choir,[1] after being displayed along the lower battlements during the sermon at the Cross; and till within a recent period, when they were removed to Chelsea, flags taken in the wars from the capture of Louisburgh to the victories of Nelson, were suspended round the dome. The flags of the old county regiments may be now seen at York, Canterbury, Chichester, Exeter, Salisbury, Rochester, and other places. Banners have been used in the procession at 'Choral Festivals' at Peterborough since 1860, and Oxford. At an installation of the Knights of the Bath the dean lays the swords upon the altar, and delivers them to their owners; the banners of the deceased are laid under it, whilst the band plays the 'Dead March in Saul.' When the nine captured flags were received at St. Paul's in 1797, they were held in a circle and bowed before the king, who stood in the midst, and then flag officers, after the first lesson, moving with solemn steps up to the altar, offered them there.[2]

[1] Stow's Ann. 751.
[2] Malcolm, iii. 129; Gent. Mag. lxviii. 1067.

CARNARY OF RIPON CRYPT—BOOKSELLERS' STORE-ROOM—HENRY THE SECOND'S PENANCE—LOOMS AT CANTERBURY.

THE Carnary in the Crypt, called in 1506 the Crudd of Ripon, with its walls and vaulting encrusted with more than 9,000 bones, was arranged in 1843 out of collections of human remains, at first removed to a space between two buttresses, as fresh interments were made when the cemetery was used by the 'dependent chapelries.' They were buried in 1866. Books were stored in the crypt or shrouds of St. Faith under St. Paul's, and were consumed in the Great Fire to the value of 150,000*l.* At a still earlier date the bakery and other buildings were occupied for unworthy purposes. In the undercroft of Canterbury, Henry II. passed a night fasting, after being scourged by every bishop, abbot, and monk present, each of the eighty monks giving three, and every prelate and abbot five strokes, whilst the royal penitent bade them strike harder. He stood on the morrow to hear mass, with his bare feet chilled and fouled with the mud of the streets, until a kind-hearted monk interposed a mat between them and the cold stones.[1] In 1561 the crypt was occupied by the silk-looms of the French and Flemish refugees, who used one aisle as a place of worship.

[1] Matt. Par. i. 386; Hoveden, 539; Diceto, 577; Brompton, 1495; Gervase, 1427.

DAILY COMMUNION—INTERVAL BETWEEN SERVICES—MIDNIGHT SERVICE—HENRY VIII.'S STATUTES EXCUSE ATTENDANCE AT THEM — EARLY MASS — EARLY MATINS: EXETER, NORWICH — MORNING PRAYER CHAPEL: ST. PAUL'S, YORK, LICHFIELD, WORCESTER, WELLS, DURHAM, LINCOLN, CANTERBURY—SERVICES IN 1852.

THE daily Communion we find, by a rubric of 1549, was maintained in Cathedrals, but in the Council's Letter of that year an early Communion in the morning was to be permitted at the high altar of St. Paul's only 'if some number of people desired it for their necessary business.' There was often no celebration on Sundays, owing to the absence of the requisite number of communicants fifty years ago.[1] In 1571 Grindal at York required celebration on the three great feasts, All Saints, Epiphany, and Purification; and on the first Sunday in the months in which they did not fall, with permission further to have it on other Sundays and holydays if the cathedral clergy thought good.[2] In the next century Bishop Cosin insisted on the intention of the Church to have daily communion by the order before the Table of Proper Lessons and other rubrics, but laments that she was not then capable of so excellent a custom.[3]

Bishop Cosin has recorded the following custom. Speaking of the rubrical notice to be given by persons intending to become communicants, he says, 'Whereupon is necessarily inferred a certain distance of time between Morning Prayer and High Service,

[1] Brit. Critic, xxvii. 268. [2] Remains, p. 148. [3] Works, v. 16.

which is at this time duly observed in York and Chichester.' This custom was not observed at the time of Grindall's Injunctions for York in 1571, in which any intermission in Divine service was forbidden. At Ely Matins are sung at 9, and Litany and Holy Communion at 11.

If we may believe the coarse-tongued Pilkington, 'in Paul's and abbeys at their midnight prayers were more commonly but a few bawling priests, young choristers, and novices; the elder sort, both in cathedral churches and abbeys, almost never came at their midnight prayer,—it was thought enough to knoll the bells.'[1] It is certain that a great stress was laid upon attendance at Matins in the ancient statutes, and that it was a special exemption in those of Henry VIII., which excused the members of Cathedrals from coming to the night Hours, so cold had old devotion grown. 'Venite Bread' significantly was given at Chichester.

No church in Bath, in 1411, was allowed to chime for service until the Cathedral had rung its morning bell, or tolled the curfew.[2]

Harding says, 'where great multitude of Christian people is, as in towns, we see some resort to church early in the morning, making their spiritual oblations to the intent to serve God ere they serve men in their worldly affairs. Others come at their convenient opportunity, some at 6, some at 7, some at 8, some at 9 or 10 of the clock. All well-disposed people about Paul's cannot come to Postles'

[1] Works, 528. [2] Warner's Bath, 123–4.

Mass at 4 or 5 of the clock in the morning.'[1] The Apostles' Mass was said in the Jesus Chapel in the shrouds. Pilkington profanely calls it Judas Chapel.[2] Cooper says there was Mass in the Lady Chapel at 6, and in Jesus Church at 9;[3] or, as he also calls it, 'the lowest place of the west end.'[4] In 1597 Matins were said at 5 in summer and 6 in winter, and in 1803 at the latter hour throughout the year.[5] The Matins in 1559 succeeded the Apostles' Mass.[6] Sermons were preached in the shrouds or under-croft.

The usual hour of Matin mass, the first said in the day, was 6 A.M. or at 5 A.M., according to the season, at Chichester and Lichfield; and at Durham, in 1567, servants attended in the Cathedral at 6, the ordinary service being at 9;[7] in the time of Cosin prayers were said at 5 A.M. winter and summer, followed by a second service at 9. Cardinal Pole required every morning at 6 A.M. the Mass of the Holy Ghost to be sung without note, and at 8 the Mass of St. Mary, and on Fridays that of the Name of Jesus to note; on sermon days tierce, sexts, and nones were to be 'said' only.[8] At Winchester, as at Worcester until some years ago, the morning service is sung at 8 A.M. on Sundays; in 1615, as at Wells, Matins were said in the Lady Chapel at 6 A.M.[9] In Townsend's Journal of the Siege of Worcester, 1646, we have the affecting entry: 'July 23. This day many gentlemen went to 6 o'clock prayers to the College, to take their

[1] Jewel's Works, ii. 630.
[2] Works, 541; Strype, i. 392.
[3] Works, 119.
[4] Ibid. 21.
[5] Malcolm, iii. 28.
[6] Machyn, 212.
[7] Granv. Lett. ii. 163.
[8] Durham Stat. Lamb. MS. 688, fo. 29.
[9] Ray, Itin. 180, 200.

last farewell of the Church of England service, the organs having been taken down on the 20th, and some parlaymenters hearing of the music at the service walking in the isle, fell a skippinge and dancing as it were in derision.'[1] In 1700 the organ-loft was infested with rats.[2] At Durham, in 1682, there were prayers at 6 A.M. for servants, except on Sundays and holydays.[3] At Worcester they were revived in 1660.[4] At Chester and Exeter prayers are said in the 'Lady Chapel' at 7 A.M. In Defoe's time 500 people attended the 6 o'clock service, and 'the solemnity, decency, and affecting harmony of the choir service rendered the Cathedral a glory to the diocese, the envy of other choirs, and the admiration of strangers.'[5] In 1559 the hour was 6 A.M., and a hymn was sung.

At Norwich there were early prayers said at 6 A.M. in summer and at 7 in the winter, 'but of late years' (it is said in 1814), 'they had been discontinued.' The name of the Morning Prayers Chapel still remains at St. Paul's, Salisbury, and Lincoln; in 1780 they were said in the former Cathedral and at Westminster Abbey at 6 A.M.,[6] and now at 8 A.M.; and still later, in 1730, the members of Christ Church, Oxford, went to Matins at 6 and Litany at 9.[7] At Christ Church, Dublin, Matins were at 6 A.M. in summer, and at 8 A.M. in winter, besides early Communion. Thirty years since the Dean of Christ Church

[1] Noake, 479. [2] Ib. 486. [3] Camd. MSS. vi. 23.
[4] Ecclesiol. xxiv. 323.
[5] Ib. 334–5; Comp. Lyttelton, Descript. by S.A. 22.
[6] Hutton's New View, s. v. [7] Peck's Desid. Cur. lib. xii. No. 21.

used to sing the Communion Office, attended by gospeller and epistoler, and an anthem was sung before the offertory. In 1818, at York prayers were said at 6 A.M. in summer and at 7 in winter; formerly they were said in the choir at 6 the whole year round. In 1764 the service had been transferred to a chapel.[1] A small bell, 'the silver sound of which could be heard some miles off the city,' and then suspended in a cupola on the 'Lantern Steeple,' bore these allusive lines, engraved in 1592:—

> 'Surge citò. Propera. Cunctos citat, excitat Hora;
> Cur dormis? Vigila: me resonante, leva.'
>
> Hist. of Ch. of York, 40, 33.

At Lichfield, Bishop Hacket's Statutes require an early service, still maintained, for small tradesmen, labourers, and servants in the Lady Chapel. Laud, in 1634, ordered the usual morning prayers at 6 A.M. to be henceforth read or celebrated in Our Lady's Chapel at the east end of the Cathedral Church of Worcester.[2] At Hereford, the hour then was 5 or 6.30, according to the season. At Wells, Mr. Phelps (1839) says 'there is in the Lady Chapel a Communion Table, and seats for the accommodation of a congregation, which formerly assembled at 6 A.M. in summer and at 7 in winter to hear Morning Prayers. This service has been discontinued many years.'[3] It was begun at Easter, 1635.[4] At Durham, Morning Prayer was said in the song school at 6 A.M., except on Sundays and holydays.[5] Cosin says the hour was 5 A.M. winter and summer.[6] At Lin-

[1] Hargrove, 84. [2] Works, v. 491. [3] Somersetshire, ii. 68.
[4] Brereton's Travels, 175. [5] Rites, 72. [6] Works, i. app. xxv.

coln, in Hollar's Plan, mention is made of the chapel where Matins are said at 6 A.M., and there prayers were continued down to comparatively recent times, as at Salisbury at 6.30 and 6 at Winchester in the present century. The Collect still retains the significant words, 'the beginning of this day.' Still the bells ring early in the morning for Matins and a little later for first celebration even where these services are not observed, faint traces of an earlier usage. Carey tells us that at Chichester a bell was rung every morning at 5 o'clock, winter and summer, for a quarter of an hour.[1] Gostling says that in his time early prayers were said in the chapter-house, and not in the choir of Canterbury, owing to the following circumstance:—Lord Jefferies told one of the prebendaries that the Presbyterians were about to petition James II. for the use of this noble building as a meeting-house. The prebendary then made the proposition to convert it to this new purpose. 'That will do,' said the Chancellor, 'have it put to that use immediately, for if the Presbyterians don't get it, perhaps others will whom you may like worse.'[2]

When the Cathedral Commission in 1852 was appointed, there was only monthly Communion on Sundays at Wells, Carlisle, Chester, Ely (where it was innovation dating seventy years back), Gloucester, Bristol, Hereford, Lincoln, Norwich, Peterborough, Rochester, and St. Asaph, and fortnightly at St. David's. This was a great falling off, for, in 1684, Durham and Gloucester, with other Cathe-

[1] Balnea; quoted in Seagrave, Chich. Guide, c. 1797, p. 58.
[2] Ibid. 177.

drals in the Province of Canterbury, had revived the weekly celebration,[1] although in the metropolitan church, from 1660 to 1669, Lent sermons and only monthly Communions had been the rule.[2] At Carlisle, within a short time previous, a lecturer, never contemplated by the statutes, preached for the dean and canons: at Ely the precentor similarly 'guarded' the pulpit when required, and two minor canons could not sing; at Manchester the service was 'read;' at Norwich the Evensong was a service in the choir, 'partly choral, partly parochial' (!) for three winter months at 2.30 P.M., and during the rest of the year the choral service was resumed, and the parish service said in St. Luke's Church. At Ripon, as now, there was no choir on Wednesday or Friday (since 1696); at St. Asaph there were two week-day choral services; at Llandaff, none; at St. David's the Saturday evening service was choral. It would be most desirable to make a better arrangement for the weekly relief of the members of the choir than a total suspension of the musical service, sometimes for an entire day, which prevails in many Cathedrals, and ought at once to be reformed. A certain number of clerks and boys, or an entire side, might be excused from attendance without interruption to the continuity of divine worship. Still there was life in the old Cathedrals: in some the weekly communion was maintained; at Salisbury, except on one Sunday in the month and on great festivals, there was early celebration at 8 A.M.; at Ripon, on Easter Day

[1] Dean Granville's Letters, 124–5, 132.

[2] Englishmen of the Seventeenth Century, p. 261.

at 5 A.M.; at Exeter, Matins were said daily at 7, and at Chester, except in winter, when the hour was 7.30; at Gloucester, during seven months, at 7.15; at Hereford, on festivals; and at Oxford, always at 8: whilst at Norwich, from 1831 to 1843, the attempt was made to have an additional sermon; at Rochester the choir was silent on Litany days in Lent; and at Worcester, Matins on Sunday were said at 8.15 in summer, and at 8.30 in winter. At Christ Church Dublin, there was a Sunday evening lecture till 1807; at Norwich, exceptionally, on certain days, the dean and canons were to say prayers as well as celebrate. At Llandaff the Lady Chapel is used only for the burial office. The term 'hebdomadary priest' is still retained in the choir notices of Lichfield, to designate the priest-vicar in course for the week.

SECTION V.

OLD RITES—TRADITIONS AND LEGENDS.

At Canterbury and York a tent for the pyx was erected in the close or cemetery before the churchyard cross, round which they strewed flowers and green boughs, as the first station on Palm Sunday where the double procession met; one, of the red wooden cross, coming from the north-east, meeting that of the silver cross borne in front of the Sacrament, with lights and palms, banners and flowers: over the door of the Minster the choristers sang, as it approached, the hymn, 'Glory, laud, and honour,' and it was carried to the last station at the rood loft, the choir having first passed under the shrine held above them at the great west portal. At Salisbury they made the circuit of the close; there also, leafy boughs, flowers, and palms received benediction, laid on the altar step. At York on Maundy Thursday after vespers the primate, dean, and canons barefooted washed the feet of the poor, whilst the anthem was sung and gospel was read; and at last the ministers of the church knelt before them, setting down light cakes and wine as though they were at supper. On Holy Saturday at a pillar

on the south side of the nave of Salisbury the new or Easter fire was kindled with a flint or crystal, after the procession had sung 'The Lord is my Light.' The septiform litany, the benediction of the font, and the paschal taper on Easter Eve; and of the holy oil of exorcism, the sick man's oil, and the chrism, with a procession with banners on Holy Thursday, were celebrated with high ceremonial; and on the former day, at York and Salisbury, when the celebrant sang 'Gloria in excelsis' the bells rang out a peal, and every canon and clerk kneeling let fall their black choral copes and rose up robed in white surplices. On All Saints' Day at Salisbury five boys with amices drawn over their heads and holding lighted tapers, like the lamps of the five wise virgins, sang the antiphon, 'I heard a voice from heaven' on the sanctuary step; and during Lent the veil hung between the choir and altar, except at the gospel, and on Wednesday in Holy Week, at the words 'the veil of the temple was rent' it was dropped on the floor of the presbytery.[1] The silent bells on the three 'still days' of Holy Week, the creeping to the Cross in abasement on Good Friday, the altar stripped, which on Maunday Thursday had been washed and dried with hyssop, the expulsion of the penitents, and the scattering of ashes on the first day of Lent, the burial of the rood in the sepulchre, and the ordinary dirges for the dead on Maundy Thursday, presented a vivid contrast to the sight on some high festival when a bishop ministered sometimes with a group of seven, five, or

[1] Rock, Ch. of our Faith, iii. app. 68.

three deacons and sub-deacons, or a celebrant in a sumptuous vesture officiated before an altar blazing with lights; reliquaries of crystal or ivory, jewelled altar-plate, crosses, images, palls on its surface, costers of the richest stuff hanging at the side; some splendid reredos of tabernacle work, full of statues of saints, or a dossel of superb tapestry behind it, and a gorgeous frontal before it; a deacon at Salisbury waving a fan of feathers to keep away flies after the consecration; the pavement strewn with leaves or rich carpets; the gospel- and the epistle-desks, and the lectern supplied with books illuminated and plated with precious metals and beautiful cloths; chairs of chanters, who stood with splendid staves in their hands; stools of the rectors of choir adorned with similar apparels; and along the stalls the prelates and monks, or dignitaries and canons, the vicars and chaplains in the second range of stalls vested in albs, white only in name, with sparkling apparels, or in copes of superb needle-work, oriental stuff, silk, velvet, tissue, brocade, bustian, baudekyn or cloth of gold, enriched with ophreys, tassels, pearls, and clasps with cameos, gems, and high chasing; with the lay clerks, thurifers, taper-bearers, acolytes and choristers ranged in the third form, in alb and amice, or standing in front of the presbytery step, between walls hung with tapestries and cloths of estate, glittering under the light of sconces, the seven-branched candlestick in the centre of the choir, or, from Easter to Whitsuntide, of the great paschal taper. In monastic Cathedrals the monks or regular canons appeared usually in frocks; the choral dress of the

secular canons has been mentioned in a former section. The copes were laid by the præcentor upon a board supported by trestles in the choir or on a carpet, and delivered in order to their wearers. Votive lights burned before the low altars, the lesser shrines were hung round with offerings of mimic limbs supposed to be healed by the saints' prayers, the gifts of pilgrims and crusaders, effigies, ships, ornaments, the 'horns of unicorns,' the eggs of 'griffin' and ostrich; whilst the great feretory had its pendant ceiling drawn up to show its sacred coffin, and, below, its niches filled with infirm, waiting for a cure, and its marble steps worn into furrows by the knees of devotees, whilst the jealous shrine-keeper watched his treasure with wistful eyes whilst he pointed with a white wand or read aloud from the acts of the patron saint. At Evensong, which was sung at 3 P.M., the Magnificat was sung with especial pomp, followed by a solemn incensing or procession, or by two priests going eastward and westward to cense the various altars, and terminating in a station with singing of anthems before the Cross in the rood loft. Rectors of choir, two of the great canons, and two of the priest-vicars, who 'kept' or attended 'choir,' ordinarily led the chant in singing, and watched the behaviour of the boys. On Easter Day the flesh of the paschal lamb, and at Exeter and Durham milk and honey on Maundy Thursday were blessed at the high altar. Bells at midday announced the coming eve or vigil, which was forbidden at the Reformation. Every afternoon in Easter week the procession went to the font singing the 113th psalm. Every day

after Prime it passed from the choir to the chapter-house, to hear the martyrology read from the pulpit, the memorial of obits of departed members, lectures from holy books, and the names of those who were to officiate announced, or the confession of delinquents publicly made, and penance inflicted before the central cross.

With such pageants and pomps of other times I must deal, without lingering on their details. The Rites of Durham are full of solemn processions, the daily one with its crystal cross, and that on Easter Day so gorgeous and full of joy. On Good Friday, while the Passion was sung, the Crucifix was laid at the lowest altar step on a velvet cushion, and the whole Convent crept upon their knees to it. And then they laid it up in the Sepulchre, not a tomblike permanent structure, as at Norwich or Lincoln, but a fabric made on the north side of the choir near the altar, along with the Holy Sacrament, which they censed and left with two tapers burning before it till the dawn of Easter, about 4 o'clock in the morning; and then they carried a monstrance having the figure of Our Lord to the altar, while the choir chanted the anthem 'Christus resurgens.' It was then taken by two monks down to the south choir door, where four ancient gentlemen of the prior's household held up a purple canopy over it, making the round of the church, the whole choir following with goodly torches and great store of lights, singing, rejoicing, and praising God, till they came to the high altar again, where it remained till Ascension Day. On Thursday after Trinity Sunday the Corpus Christi shrine was

carried with crosses and St. Cuthbert's banner by the Prior, Convent, and choir, in their best copes into the choir, where Te Deum was sung with the organs, and all the banners of the city-crafts followed round St. Cuthbert's shrine with burning torches. On Maundy Thursday the Prior washed the feet of thirteen poor men in the cloister at 9 o'clock, and the monks the feet of children. From Maundy Thursday till Wednesday after Ascension Day the great Paschal Candle, so tall that it was lighted from the roof, burned, with its seven tall tapers, in the choir.

A vivid picture is given of the daily occupation: the Sacristan in the early morning opening the aumbries in readiness for the celebration of masses; the high officers going to their chambers, the monks one by one leaving their little trellised cells in the dormitory with a study under each window, and the twelve cressets at either end of the room lighting them down to the midnight matins: the cloister, with its sumptuous windows, its northern alley divided into separate carols where each monk studied after dinner, taking his book from the aumbry in the wall; the western alley filled with a school of novices both forenoon and afternoon; the south alley with its towel-aumbry and the marble laver in the centre of the garth where they washed before going into refectory. There are the tables laid out on some high festival (for on other days the smaller room called the Loft is in use) with its snowy table-cloths, its bright salts and silver-edged mazers before each monk; the Novice reading in Latin a portion of the Bible from the pulpit during dinner, which was

brought to a close before noon by the ringing of the gilt bell, which hung above the Prior's seat, and the passing of the grace cup. Then every day went forth the solemn procession, bare-headed, to the 'cemetery garth,' to pray among the tombs of the dead brethren, until they returned to study in the cloister, which they left to sing Evensong at 3 o'clock. At 5 supper was served, and afterwards the last prayers were said in the chapter; then the bell rang, and, after saying the Salve, all retired to the dormitory.

BOY-BISHOP—CHORISTER ACTORS—MASKERS IN CHOIR—THE MIRACLE PLAY—THE EPIPHANY—THE ASCENSION—CENSERS AT WHITSUNTIDE—ST. PAUL'S, NORWICH—FEAST OF ASSES—CLOUDS AT LICHFIELD.

UNTIL recent years the lilliputian effigy of a bishop at Salisbury was believed to be that of a Boy-Bishop, whose office may be traced in that Cathedral to the year 1319; and at York to 1369, where it was required that the chorister should have served well in the Minster and be of suitable comeliness. These 'barne bishops' used to go and visit the Lords Northumberland during their Christmas holidays.[1] By Colet's Statutes in 1518, the child-bishop was yearly to preach in St. Paul's. The curious office may also be traced at Exeter; it began on the eve of Childermas, and lasted till the second vespers of the festival, the boys taking the parts of the chanter

[1] North. Hous. Book, 340, 349.

and canons, chaplains and cross-bearer, while the residentiaries bore the censers, and the vicars the tapers: and the dean and canons preceded them in procession, from the west door into the choir. On St. John's Day at Salisbury, arrayed in copes and with tapers in their hands, they went in procession from the choir to the high altar, singing the Song of the One Hundred and Forty and Four from the Revelation; on returning into the choir they occupied the upper stalls, and the 'bairn bishop' gave the benediction. The boy-Bishop preached a sermon in Gloucester Cathedral in 1558,[1] in which he gives a painful picture of the irreverence of choristers. In 1378 the choristers of St. Paul's formed a dramatic company, and the 'children of Powles' acted plays even in the time of Queen Elizabeth and James I. after Evensong.[2] They prayed Richard II. to prohibit inexpert persons from representing the History of the Old Testament, which they at great expense were to act publicly at Christmas.[3]

At Wells, in 1321, between Christmas and the Octave of Innocents, the deacons, sub-deacons, and even priest-vicars, represented ludicrous plays, and introduced monstrous masks, grimacing even in Divine service, and in Whitsun Week laymen performed the same indecencies.[4] Dancing, throwing of stones, rough play, admission of persons of bad character, markets, and other secular meetings were also for-

[1] Vesp. A. xxv.
[2] Collier, Hist. of the Stage, i. 17, 137, 281; iii. 377.
[3] Gent. Mag. xxxiv. 214.
[4] Harl. MS. 1682, 16–21; Lansd. MS. 729, fo. 68, 75.

bidden. In the twelfth century, at Lichfield, the miracle-plays were represented: the Shepherds on Christmas Eve, the Resurrection at the dawn of Easter, the Miracles on Easter night and the next morning, and the Pilgrims (the Disciples going to Emmaus) on Easter Monday; and at York, the Three Kings at Epiphany, the Apparition of the Star on Christmas Eve, and the Salutation of the Shepherds at Bethlehem. At Chichester, on the Feast of Epiphany, an image of the Holy Ghost was borne in procession round the whole Cathedral by two vicars, which was then offered in succession to the various members, beginning with the dean; and the person who accepted it gave an ornament to the church. Grostete, at Lincoln, forbade the abominable 'feast of asses,' with its foul sports and indecent joking, on the festival of the Circumcision.[1]

At Gloucester there are two circular apertures in the vault through which the monks drew up with wires or ropes on Holy Thursday the representation of Our Lord's Ascension into heaven, whilst a chant was sung.[2] Brereton, however, says that 'over the higher end of the quire in the false roof, there is still remaining a round hole through which with wires it was so contrived as that the Holy Ghost in the shape of a dove seemed to descend even over the high altar; upon whose lighting, flames of fire ascended from a close concave place about four or five yards long and a yard broad, formed beyond the high altar, and furnished with pitch, resin, and other

[1] Brown, Fasc. Rer. exp. ii. 331, 412; Comp. Brande, i. 209.

[2] Haines' Gloucester, 68. It is still done at Lucerne.

combustible matter, and you may behold the walls smoked over as a chimney.'[1] This little chamber, to which there is a descent by steps, remains, but was probably a hiding-place for the jewels and relics in time of danger. A somewhat similar subterranean chamber was discovered under the lantern of Oxford in 1856; and is supposed to have been connected with curious effects of light mentioned in the miracles of St. Frideswide.

In a MS. inventory of St. Paul's Cathedral I found the following entry: 'A great large censer all silver with many windows and battlements used to cense withal in the Pentecost Week in the body of the Church of Paul's at the procession time Clviij ounces iii quarters.' I at length found the clue to its use in a passage of Bishop Pilkington: 'In the midst alley was a long censer, reaching from the roof to the ground, as though the Holy Ghost came in there censing down in likeness of a dove.' Lambarde, in his Topographical Dictionary says, 'I myself being a child once saw in Paul's Church at London at a feast of Whitsuntide, where the coming down of the Holy Ghost was set forth by a white pigeon that was let to fly out of a hole that is yet to be seen in the midst of the roof of the great aisle, and by a long censer which, descending out of the same place almost to the very ground, was swung up and down at such a length that it reached at one sweep almost to the west gate of the church, and with the other to the choir stairs of the same, breathing out over the whole church and

[1] Travels, 182.

company a most pleasant perfume of such sweet things as burned therein.'

Exactly in the centre of the nave roof of Norwich is a circular opening, and the Sacrists' Rolls contain an entry for letting a man habited as an angel down from the roof with a thurible to cense the rood.[1] In 1170, at Lichfield, clouds, formed with vast quantities of incense, were made to fill the church with perfume, and probably, as in some places, had lighted tow mingled with them to represent the descent of fiery tongues. Doves were loosed, whilst one, as if hovering, was suspended from the roof.

THE UNBURIED AMBASSADOR—A HEADLESS KING—THE HALF-NAKED KNIGHT—THE RAGGED REGIMENT—'BLOW BARROW DOWN'—RENTS PAID ON TOMBS—FLOWERS ON DR. DONNE'S GRAVE.

CUMBROUS tombs fill the niches of St. Paul's, which would be more appropriately arranged along the Thames Embankment, and disfigure many other Cathedrals.[2] Huge masses of statuary still block up the aisles of Westminster. It was not until 1812 that 'the two coffins and chests, which were laid open to the gaze in the first chapel on the right hand in Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster,' no longer offended public decorum; one, commonly attributed to a 'Spanish ambassador, was carried back to his native land, in company with the remains of the late Duke of Albuquerque.[3] Another coffin, of

[1] Harrod's Monasteries, 270; Didron. Annal. Archæol. xi. 12, 15; Brande, i. 282.

[2] Brit. Crit. xxxiii. 75, 82. [3] Gent. Mag. lxxxii. ii. 338.

red leather, was that of the Conde de Ronquillo, who died in 1691.[1]

At Westminster, a writer of the time of James I. informs us that 'about the latter end of Henry VIII. the head of Henry V.'s image being of massive silver was broken off and conveyed clean away with the plates of silver and gilt that covered his body.'[2] Here also the 'waxen mensuræ,' or effigies of great personages (mortes of wax—first introduced in the royal obsequies at the funeral of Henry V.—which used to be carried in large funerals), were exhibited at 2d. per head as the 'Ragged Regiment,' or 'Play of the dead Volks' (till 1839), upon all holydays, Sundays excepted, between the Sermon and Evening Prayers. On one occasion, when Dr. Barrow was preaching one of his interminable sermons 'the crowd began to be impatient, and caused the organ to be struck up against him, and would not give over till they had blowed him down.'[3] When Lord Nelson's funeral car was exhibited at St. Paul's, the rival attraction drew away the sightseers from Westminster. In 1439 the Countess of Warwick bequeathed her great image of wax to Worcester,[4] and still earlier, Edward I. gave an effigy of himself to Chichester along with a cloth of gold, and Henry, his son, when ill, sent similar figures to London and Canterbury. The effigy of Sir John Stanley at Lichfield is naked to the waist, and holds a scroll of confession, as it was upon the condition that he, having been excommunicated, should be thus represented that the figure was admitted.

[1] Hutton's New View, ii. 514.
[2] Howe's Chron. 262–3.
[3] Pope's Life of Seth Ward, 447.
[4] Noake, 533.

The Chapter of Norwich formerly received their rents on the tomb of Chancellor Spencer, and the stone was completely worn by the frequent ringing of the money. The tombs of St. Chad at Lichfield, and Haxby, the Treasurer of York, received money payments limited to be made on them by old leases and settlements. Solemn covenants were contracted upon Teliau's tomb at Llandaff. At Carlisle the same custom was observed at the tomb of Prior Senhouse, and at Worcester certain payments were made on the fontstone.[1] They strewed an abundance of curious and costly flowers, morning and evening, many days on Dr. Donne's grave in old St. Paul's.[2] At Dryden's burial in the Abbey rosemary was used; and Shakspeare represents Queen Katharine, who was buried at Peterborough [and her grave probably saved the Minster at the Dissolution], desiring maiden flowers 'to be strewn over her when dead.' Bede is said to have been called the Venerable because a good angel supplied the Latin synonym to an unfortunate monk of Durham, who was composing the epitaph for the saint's tomb, and, unequal to fill up a gap in the rhythm, had fallen asleep over the task.[3] When the body of Queen Mary of Scots was removed from Peterborough to Westminster in 1619, the old folks shook their heads, saying that 'Stuart should not prosper, since the dead had been stirred in their graves.' At Exeter, in 1700, it was the custom for friends to return from the Cathedral to the house after a funeral, and very ceremoniously take leave of the mourners.[4]

[1] Noake, 501.
[2] Walton's Lives, 54.
[3] Raine, Brief Acc. 82.
[4] Brane's Travels, 236.

CARRYING PRELATES—APPLES DISTRIBUTED ON CHRISTMAS DAY—GIFT TO THE BISHOPS OF WINCHESTER, ROCHESTER, AND CHICHESTER—DOLE AT CHICHESTER—THE CHORISTERS' CUP—MISTLETOE AT YORK.

At Peterborough in 1338 the newly-elected abbot was carried on the shoulders of the monks from the high altar to the roodloft, where his promotion was announced to the congregation. At Canterbury in 1206 the monks caught up Bishop John de Gray, and carried him to the high altar, finally enthroning him in the archbishop's see.[1] This custom was probably derived from France, where St. Wilfrid at his consecration was carried by bishops in a golden chair, and now, owing to a 'corrupt following' of modern continental practice, our ancient roodscreens (which held the altar for the nave or people's services) appear to be doomed to destruction, making our Cathedrals look un-English, and on week-days deserted, whether with or without a fence of cage-like metal work.

At Ripon, so late as in 1790, on the Sunday before Candlemas Day, the Collegiate Church was one continued blaze of light all the afternoon by an immense number of candles. On the day before Holy Thursday, all the clergy, attended by the singing-men and boys of the choir, perambulated the town in their canonicals, singing hymns, and the blue-coat charity boys followed, singing, with green boughs in their hands. On Christmas Day the singing boys came into the Church with large baskets full of red apples, with a sprig of rosemary stuck in

[1] Matt. Par. 179.

each, which they presented to all the congregation, and generally had a return made them of 2*d.*, 4*d.*, or 6*d.*, according to the quality of the lady or gentleman.[1] From time immemorial the prior and convent of Winchester sent daily to the bishop when resident eight loaves of wassail bread and four bottles of good wine, with some pears, by the hands of the junior monk, who presented them humbly to the Bishop, saying, 'SS. Pere et Paule vous envoient.'[2] The rolls of expenses at Worcester show, on the other hand, that the dead bishop, St. Wolstan, day by day was set down for regular rations out of the refectory and cellarage.[3] At Rochester the bishop received a xenium or pension on St. Andrew's Day from the convent. The Bishop of Chichester received bread and wine when he came to celebrate pontifically. A dole to the poor is still given away on Saturdays; and on Sherborne's anniversary, each of the eight choristers sipped with a spoon from a cup of the purest latten filled with milk, coloured with saffron, sugared, and thickened with eggs, saying, 'God rest the soul of Lord Robert, my benefactor.'

Stukeley says, 'Lately at York, on the eve of Christmas Day, they carried mistletoe to the high altar of the Cathedral, and proclaimed a public and universal liberty, pardon, and freedom to all sorts of inferior and even wicked people at the gates of the city, towards the four quarters of heaven.'[4]

Browne Willis says that the offerings of the detached chapels in the neighbourhood of St. David's

[1] Gent. Mag. lx. pt. ii. 719.
[2] MSS. Winton Coll.
[3] Reg. Prior. Wigorn. ci.
[4] Med: Hist. of Caraus. ii. 164.

'were carried to the Cathedral, and divided on Saturday among the canons and priests, and some yet living can remember since the offering-money was brought on Saturdays to the chapter-house and there divided by dishfuls, the quantity not allowing them leisure to tell it.'[1] At Chichester the communicants move into seats in the sanctuary after the Prayer for the Church Militant. At Exeter they do not approach the rail.

THE FRAUD OF MONKS—VENERATION TO THE CONFESSOR—THE MINSTREL AT ST. RICHARD'S SHRINE—THE SPOIL OF BECKET'S SHRINE—THE LECTERN AND RELIQUARY OF SHRINES—PILGRIMS AT A SHRINE—THE CORONATION AND SEPULCHRES OF KINGS.

On the morrow of Palm Sunday, 1314, King Edward, after visiting St. Alban's, went to Ely, where he decided in favour of the former church that it undoubtedly possessed the relics of the English protomartyr, although the monks of the Fen falsely pointed out a shrine labelled with his name;[2] for their black-cowled brethren, in a time of peril, had taken the precaution of sending only supposititious remains.

P. Calixtus made two visits to St. David's, equivalent to a pilgrimage to Rome; and in 1286, Edward and Eleanor made the composition.[3] Peterborough enjoyed a similar privilege, for a single visit, and all of what degree soever who entered under its great gate did so barefooted.

[1] St. David's, 54-5. [2] Walsingham, i. 138. Leland, Itin. viii. 65. Capgrave, 180; Matt. Par. Gesta. Abbat. i. 38, 52.
[3] Ang. Sac. ii. 651.

The shrine of St. Edward the Confessor still stands at Westminster, but much of the beautiful mosaic work has been carried away by devotees. 'A part of the stone basement seat on the east side of the south wing of the transept has been worn into a deep hollow by the feet of the devout, who attend here early of a morning, and from this point can just obtain a view of the cover of the shrine. Previously to the French Revolution, the very dust and sweepings of the shrine and chapel were preserved and exported to Spain and Portugal in barrels.[2]

The lectern where the monks of Gloucester read the story of King Edward's death to the pilgrims visiting his tomb, and the alms-box and reliquary of St. Richard of Chichester, are relics of the old custom of visiting shrines, doing penance, and enriching the church treasury. When Edward I. visited Chichester, Lovel the minstrel was singing to his harp the praises of St. Richard. Dr. Clark says that pilgrims visited the shrine after the Restoration.[3] At St. Paul's these players haunted the altars of St. Mary, and their noise and importunities led to their exclusion;[4] but these must have been slight to the clang of trump and pipe, and the shouts of those who cried aloud for joy at the vigil of the candidates for knighthood, when the voices of the singers could not be heard across the sides of the choir.[4] Sanders says that 25 ox-wains were employed to trans-

[1] Neal's Westm. Abbey, i. 69.

[2] Segrave's Chichester, 13. Watching-chambers remain at Ely, Canterbury, and Oxford.

[3] Rock's Ch. of our Fathers, p. iii. 124. [4] Matt. Westm. 454.

port the spoil of the shrine of Canterbury, where by a compromise made in 1354 every Archbishop of York bought the privilege of carrying his crozier in the southern province by offering a golden image of a primate weighing 40 lbs. within two months after his consecration.[1] Henry in 1181, and in 1179 with King Louis, whose regale of France, which burned at night like fire, and leaped from his ring to the tomb; in 1199 John; Richard Cœur-de-Lion, having walked on foot from Sandwich, after his delivery from the Austrian dungeon;[2] Edward I. (1299), offering the golden crown of Scotland; Henry V. after Agincourt; the emperors Charles V., Emmanuel and Sigismund, and Henry VIII. visited the shrine, which was guarded by bandogs in alarms of fire. Before its destruction the dead primate was arraigned by the king's orders as a traitor to come forth. The word 'canter' is derived from the pace kept by the mounted pilgrims. Round St. Cantelupe's shrine at Hereford are the marks of hooks upon which banners, lamps, and offerings, were hung by devotees.[3]

Kings, like Canute, walked barefoot for miles to visit the shrine of St. Cuthbert.[4] With him, too, is connected the famous verse:—

> Merrily sungen the muneches binnen Ely
> That Cnut ching rew there by.
> Rowe ye cnites noer the lant,
> And here we thes muneches sing.

Francis Beaumont and Jeremy Taylor allude to St. Edward's chapel at Westminster as an 'acre sown

[1] Wilkins, iii. 31.
[2] Branton, 1257.
[3] Defoe, ii. 288.
[4] Camden's Brit. ii. 103.

with richest royalest seed,' a cemetery for princes, where their ashes and their glory shall sleep till time shall be no more; where our kings have been crowned, their ancestors lay interred, and they must walk on their grandsire's head to take his crown.[1]

> Here the bones of brith have cried,
> Though gods they were, as men they died.

The kings who were buried in English cathedrals are only four in number, Rufus at Winchester, John at Worcester, Edward II. at Gloucester, and Henry IV. at Canterbury.

FUNERAL OBSEQUIES.

THE curious mediæval superstition of the body of the murdered bleeding afresh if the guilty persons approached led to its exposure in public, in order to suppress any suspicion of foul play. On May 22, 1471, attended by a number of armed men, the body of King Henry VI. was silently exposed in an open coffin, barefaced, for two days before the high altar of St. Paul's, 'where he bled';[2] and that of Richard II., after his murder at Pontefract, was exposed for three days, but—

> . . . his mass was done, and dirige,
> In herse royally seemly to royalty,

in the presence of Henry IV. The grand obsequies of Henry V. were solemnised here.

For three or four days the naked bodies of the lords Warwick and Montacute, 'that all men might see them,' lay in St. Paul's in Easter week, 1471.

The right of a church to have a mortuary when a

[1] Works, iii. 272. [2] Grafton, ii., 45. Stow's Ann., 424.

person of consequence was interred within it led to some remarkable scenes.

Bishop Hatfield's body was carried to the choir-door of Durham on a chariot drawn by five horses, which became the mortuary due to the abbey.[1] The 'chare' and five great horses of bishop Skirlaw were similarly treated.[2] The body of Lord Neville, in 1355, was removed from the funeral car at the cemetery gates, and carried into the church on the shoulders of his armed relatives;[3] on the morrow, at mass, four men-at-arms and eight horses, four of them apparelled for battle and four for peace, were offered. The horses were usually redeemed or exchanged for sheep; the rich hearse cloths used for church ornaments, and the huge torches converted into tapers. Four stately horses drew the hearse of Bishop Langley into the nave, and possibly, owing to these cumbrous solemnities, the wall of the Nine Altars was broken through to permit the admission of the body of Bishop Bek in 1310.[4] The obsequies of Henry V. were observed at St. Paul's and Westminster; and his three chargers with their riders were led up to the altar amidst the blaze of one thousand tapers.[5] At Henry VII.'s funeral, a knight rode into the rails of the hearse, on a goodly courser trapped, which became the perquisite of the abbey.[6] At Lincoln, the king and

[1] III. Script. Dunelm. cxlii. cli.

[2] Ib. cx. vii.; Comp. Wills of North. Count. 21, 23.

[3] Wills of North Count. 27.

[4] Surtees' Durham, I. xxxv. See also Ornsby, 28, and Appendix and Rawlinson MS. 303.

[5] Walsingham Hist. Mag. ii. 346. [6] Leland Coll. iv. 307.

his barons carried St. Hugh's body through the close, and then at the west door archbishops and prelates undertook to bear the sacred burden.[1] So Edward I. and the bishops bore St. William's relics on their shoulders round the choir of York.[2] At the burial of Prince Arthur, Lord Garrard, as his man-at-arms, in 'the prince's own harness, on a courser richly trapped with velvet embroidered with needle-work, rode into the midst of the choir of Worcester, with a poleaxe in his hands, the point downwards, where the Abbot of Tewksbury, the gospeller of that mass, received the offering of that horse.'[3] 'Then the said man-of-armes alighted, and was led with the axe in his hand to the bishop, and from thence to the vestry; but to have seen the weeping when the offering was done, he had a hard heart that wept not.'[4] The hearse, a grand erection of sumptuous wood-work, was often set up before the altar over the bier of royal personages; on that of Queen Mary at Westminster there were lights to the number of a thousand and more.[5]

At the shrine of St. Cuthbert, persons proceeding in defence of the Holy Land were branded as Crusaders on the breast,[6] the broken seals of dead bishops were offered to the saint,[7] and pilgrims brought back specimens of foreign marbles to Prior Roger, who wished to pave the church with the costliest kind.[8]

[1] Hoveden, 461. [2] Acta Sanct. Junii. ii. 144.
[3] Leland Coll. v. 380. [4] Green's Worcester, App. i. cxxxi.
[5] Leland Coll. v. 318.
[6] Ill. Script. III. cccxc. [7] Ornsby, app. [8] Regin. Dunelm. lxxv.

OFFERING OF CROWNS BY KINGS—ROYAL MARRIAGES AND CORONATIONS—THE MAUNDY—TOUCHING FOR THE EVIL—ROYAL VISITS OF STATE.

EDMUND IRONSIDE in 1016,[1] Canute in1017,[2] and it is said Harold,[3] on January 6, 1066, were crowned at St. Paul's; Egbert in 827, and Edward the Confessor, April 3, 1043, at Winchester.[4] King John in 1207 made a splendid offering before St. Wolstan's tomb at Worcester. On September 1, 1294, King Edward I. knelt at the same spot, and heard the monks sing the praises of the saint.[5] In 1140, as King Stephen heard mass at Lincoln, and presented, according to the custom of a king, a serge to the bishop, it broke and the light went out; and the Eucharist, with the Body of Christ, the cord breaking, fell upon the altar.[6] At Worcester in 1139 he offered his royal ring at the altar and then received it back again, a cheap offertory. On Whitsunday, 1141, he sat crowned at Hereford,[7] and in 1147 at Lincoln, braving a prophecy[8] which boded sorrow to the king who contravened it, and to the country. A visit to the shrine of St. Frideswide at Oxford was risked by Henry III. (1624) in despite of a similar doom.[9] Henry II. and Eleanor when keeping their Easter, 1158, at Worcester, at the offertory laid aside

[1] Ang. Sac. ii. 683. [2] Rishanger, 426.

[3] Laing, iii. 77; Knighton, 2339; Brev. Rel. ed. Giles, 4; Taylor's Hist. of Gavelkind, 189; comp. Wm. of Malm. 141.

[4] Knighton, 2408; Eulog. Hist. iii. 32.

[5] Noake, 66. [6] Wendover, ii. 228. [7] Duncumb, l. 233.

[8] Hoveden, i. 209; H. Huntingdon, 226, a Diceto, 53, and in 1145. Wikes, ii. 60; ap. Gale; Matt. Par. 67.

[9] Matt. Par., 852.

their crowns, vowing that they would never wear them more,[1] which was done in memory of King Canute's offering of his crown upon the altar to be set upon the head of the crucifix of Winchester. King Richard gave to Durham his parliament robe, of blue velvet with lions of pure gold, to make a cope,[2] which he possibly had worn at his coronation at Winchester in 1194.[3] The craven John resigned his crown (which he had received at Canterbury at Easter, 1201)[4] in fee to Rome, and the papal instrument in St. Paul's was publicly read before the bishops and nobles of England on October 3, 1213.[5] In 1201 he and Queen Isabella wore their crowns at Canterbury.[6] Louis the Dauphin, who during the battle of Lincoln fair found safety in the Minster, after the defeat of his party swore on the gospels and relics to avoid the realm, and Earl Ralph gave the boy King Henry, standing on the altar steps, seisin of his kingdom, with a white wand in lieu of a sceptre.[7] He was invested at Gloucester, Oct. 28, 1216,[8] with a plain gold ring, as no crown was forthcoming, and without unction or laying on of hands, so as not to infringe the rights of the primate. Henry IV. was crowned at Winchester, 1404, as Queen Margaret had been in 1172;[9] and Richard III. with Queen Anne were crowned at York, Sept. 8, 1483.[10] In 1424, Henry VI. was led up by the Lord

[1] Hoveden, i. 216; Diceto, 531; Wendover, ii. 287; Matt. Par. i. 309; Somner, 155, claims the golden crown for Canterbury.
[2] Rites, 89. [3] Eulog. iii. 403. [4] Matt. Par. ii. 82, 96.
[5] Tho. Wikes. s.a. [6] Matt. Par. iii. 220.
[7] Dugdale, Baron. i. 42. [8] Matt. Par. ii. 195.
[9] Matt. Par. s.a. [10] Kennet, 527.

Protector and the Duke of Exeter to the choir steps of St. Paul's, 'from whence he was borne unto the high altar, and there kneeled in a travers [a curtained screen] . . . and he gode to the rode [cross] of the north door, and there made his offerynges.'[1] On June 28, 1461, King Edward IV. went crowned to St. Paul's, and an 'angel came down and censed him.'[2]

A curious chapter might be written on the incidents of the coronations at Westminster. The dark winter day when William I. trembled for the first time in his life, alone with prelates and monks, whilst outside were heard the wail of the crowd trodden to death under the hoofs of the Norman cavalry; the disappearance of the Host when Stephen received 'the golden circlet of royalty;' the bold taking of the crown off the altar by the hands of Cœur-de-Lion, followed by a mysterious tolling of the bells; Edward I. lifted into the marble chair of Scone; Henry V. crowned in a terrific thunderstorm; the baby king, Henry VI., watching the people 'sadly and wisely;' the monks singing Te Deum for Richard III. with a faint courage; Edward VI. offering a pound of gold, a loaf of bread, and a chalice of wine; Charles I., 'the white king,' clothed in satin instead of purple velvet, the earthquake shaking the throne, the dove broken on the sceptre, and the text of the sermon like that which might precede a funeral; the crown tottering on the head of James II. and only kept in place by the hands of Henry Sidney; the rejoinder of Queen Mary to her sister, who pitied her fatigue, 'a crown is not so

[1] Fabyan, 594. [2] Stow's Ann. 416.

heavy as it seems;' George III. laying aside his crown in deep humility; and the repulse of Queen Caroline at the coronation of his successor.

At his coronation James II. offered his sword and scabbard upon the altar, and they were redeemed for 5*l.* by the Earl of Oxford. The crown of St. Edward was also first laid on the altar before it was set on the king's head by the archbishop,[1] and at the coronation of George III. the regalia were presented at the altar.[2] The breastplate, lance, and saddle laid by William of Scotland in homage on the altar of York were long preserved there.[3] Alexander of Scotland married the Princess Joanna in York Minster on June 19, 1221.[4] In 1507, the marriage of Prince Arthur and Katharine of Arragon was solemnized at St. Paul's by the archbishop, 'assisted' by 19 prelates.[5] Philip and Mary were married in Winchester Cathedral (July 25, 1553), where the chair used on the occasion is preserved, when, after the mass was done, 'wyne and sopes were hallowed and delivered unto them.'[6]

Great store was set on royal visits, as it was said of Henry VII. when he visited Lincoln that, 'like a Christian prince, he went to the cathedral and not to a privy chapel.' On June 8, 1522, Charles V. heard mass in St. Paul's sung by Cardinal Wolsey;[7] and on October 18, 1554, King Philip attended one sung

[1] Gent. Mag. xxxiv. 232.
[2] Ibid. 420.
[3] Ryley, Plac. Parl. 596; Knighton s.a. 1171.
[4] Chron. de Lanerc. 29;
[5] Stow's Ann. 483.
[6] Leland Coll. 294.
[7] Ibid. 516.

wholly by Spaniards,[1] which must have been less imposing than the great solemnity on April 6, 1492, when all the nobles of England and the companies of London met to hear *Te Deum* sung for joy because the King of Spain 'had won the great and rich city and countrey of Granada from the Moores.'

The custom of receiving kings at Canterbury was for the primate, dean, and chapter to wait at the west end, and 'so to attend on him, and there to hear an oration.' 'After that, Queen Elizabeth went under a canopy to the midst of the church, where certain prayers kneeling were said, the Psalm, Deus misereatur, and other collects, and after that the choir, dean, and prebendaries standing on either side of the church, and then conducting her with a square song[2] through the quire under a canopy borne by knights up to the traverse near to the communion-table.'[3]

On August 13, 1575, Queen Elizabeth was received at Worcester by the clergy at the west door, and after an oration 'entered into the church with great and solemn singing and music, with cornets and sackbuts, under a canopy borne over her.'[4] And at St. Paul's, on November 24, 1588, she was preceded by fifty clergy in rich copes singing the litany.[5]

To St. Paul's, Henry IV. and Henry VI. came on their accession; Henry VII., after his victory over Lambert Simnel and with Maximilian,[6] 'in great triumph;' he also lay here in state;[7] Henry

[1] Strype, Ecc. Mem. III. 201.
[2] In four-part harmony.
[3] Parker, Corr. 442, 475.
[4] Green's Worcester, I. App. xli.
[5] Nicholl's Progr. ii. 539.
[6] Hall, 498.
[7] Ibid. 508.

VIII., to receive a cap and sword sent by the Pope, May 21, 1514, and with Charles V.; Elizabeth, November 24, 1588, after the defeat of the Armada; William III.; Queen Anne, on five occasions of victory; George III. on December 19, 1797; and the Prince Regent offered public homage of thanksgiving for national blessings. George III. also came, on April 23, 1789, to testify his gratitude on recovery from his grievous malady. The king and queen sat under a canopy at the west end of the choir; but chairs were placed at the extreme east end of the nave, almost under the dome, with a gilded estrade, when, on February 27, 1872, the Queen and Prince of Wales, after his recovery from illness, attended in state to offer their thanksgiving to Almighty God.

On April 16, 1603, King James I. was received at the west door of York Minster by the Dean, prebendaries, and the whole quire of singing men, in their richest copes.[1] In his own quaint way he offered to 'wrestle' the nave of Durham against all others in England. On March 20, 1620, he attended service in St. Paul's; after 'kneeling down at the brazen pillar he was led under a canopy into the choir.' In 1639, King Charles I. kept Maundy in York Minster; in the south aisle the Bishop of Ely washed the feet of thirty-nine poor aged men in warm water, and dried them with a linen cloth: and the Bishop of Winchester afterwards washed them over again in white wine, wiped, and kissed them.[2] The Maundy had always been ministered in the choir of York, as at

[1] Drake's York, 131. [2] Ibid. 137.

Lichfield also. On Good Friday, the King touched 200 persons for the king's evil. King James II. touched 500 persons in Worcester Cathedral, August 24, 1687.

A curious story of a conspiracy against the life of Queen Anne, in 1710, when she visited St. Paul's, is related by Boyer and Oldmixon,[1] with a sneer at 'Mr. Secretary St. John, who had not been long in office before he gave proofs of his fitness for it by inserting an advertisement in the "Gazette" of some evil-designing persons having unscrewed the timbers of the west roof of the Cathedral. Upon this foundation Mrs. Abigail Marsham affirmed that the screws were taken away that the cathedral might tumble upon the heads of the Court on Thanksgiving Day, when it was supposed Her Majesty would have gone thither; but upon inquiry it appeared that the missing of the pins was owing to the neglect of some workmen, who thought the timber sufficiently fastened without them, and the foolishness as well as malice of the advertisement made people more merry than angry.'

At the thanksgiving of George III. and coronation of Victoria, the clergy and choir wore white gloves and crimson shoulder sashes, and the Lord Chamberlain virtually takes possession of the Cathedral on such occasions.

[1] Hist. of England, 452.

THE VISION OF THE SAINTS' MASS—DEDICATION OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY—ST. SWITHIN'S DAY—THE GHOSTLY AMEN—THE PHANTOM ARMY—HELISEND BRAVES ST. CUTHBERT—HOW QUEEN PHILIPPA SPENT THE NIGHT AT DURHAM—THE DEMON CANON AT HEREFORD—BISHOP BLOET'S GHOST—GOLDEN ROOD OF ELY—BELL OF PETERBOROUGH—THE SENTINEL OF WINDSOR—BELL OF ST. PAUL'S—HACKET'S KNELL—BELL JESUS—GAMBLING AWAY OF JESUS BELFRY—BONNIE CHRISTCHURCH BELLS.

LEGENDS usually connected with the acts of saints, or the world of spirits, hang about some Cathedrals. One of the earliest is narrated by Reginald of Durham. 'A monk of Durham, keeping vigil in the minster, sat down in the stalls and thought; he raised his eyes to behold in the misty distance three forms descend, and with slow steps come from the east towards the choir steps; each had a bishop's habit, each was comely, venerable, and glorious to behold; and, as they paused, they sang Alleluia with the verse, to the sweetest strain of melody; then, towards the south, where the great crucifix stands, was heard a choir of many voices singing in their several parts the prose, and it seemed as though clerks in their ministries were serving a bishop-celebrant, for there the clear shining of the tapers was brightest, and thence the rich delicious perfume of the fragrant incense breathed around. Then the three bishops sang their part, and the choir made answer with chanting wondrous sweet, whilst one

celebrated as beseems a bishop, then all was done; once more the solemn procession passed on its way, and disappeared like faint images behind the altar; and they say that they who were at that service lie asleep, revered in that ancient Church, Aidan, Cuthbert, Eadbert, and Ædelwold.'[1] Walter Scott says of St. Cuthbert:

> 'Deep in Durham's gothic shade
> His relics are in secret laid,
> But none may know the place,
> Save of his holiest servants three,
> Deep sworn to solemn secrecy.'[2]

In the main street of the little village city of St. Asaph the schoolboys used to point out the print of the hoofs of the saint's horse when he leaped to this spot from Onan Hassa, two miles distant.

The dedication of Westminster Abbey was attributed to the agency of its patron saint. One Sunday night Edric, the fisherman of Thorney Island, was fishing along its shores, when suddenly a bright light upon the opposite bank of the Thames attracted his attention. He crossed the stream, and found a stranger wearing a strange dress, who desired to be ferried across; he obeyed, and remaining in his boat saw a wondrous sight,—the air lightened with a sudden glory, the new church stood out against the splendour without a shadow, angels with celestial tapers, cruets of chrism-balm, and censers breathing a divine perfume, passed within the walls, and the sound of solemn chanting told that the ceremonial of consecration was being completed. When the

[1] Regin. Dunelm. c. xxxviii. [2] Marmion, c. ii. st. xiv.

mysterious visitor returned to the boat, he announced his name, saying, 'I am Peter, who keep the keys of heaven; tell Mellitus the bishop what you have seen;' and next day the bishop and the king, when they arrived at dawn, found that all had been done aright; 'and a hundred times better,' said Mellitus, 'than any prelate that lives on earth could do it.'

The Church of the Confessor was the first cruciform building erected in England; and an old legend relates that as he was on his way to the dedication of the chapel of St. John, whom he especially loved, a beggar asked an alms in the name of the Evangelist. The king drew off a rich ring from his finger and gave it to the man, who immediately vanished. Some time after two pilgrims of Ludlow, being benighted in Syria, were met by an aged man, who asked their country. On hearing they were from England, he entertained them in a hostelry, and gave them a ring to carry back to their king, adding that in six months he should be with the saint in paradise. They performed their mission; Edward recognised his ring, and at once prepared to die.

The popular superstition with regard to St. Swithin's Day is founded on a legend that after his canonisation the monks of Winchester wished to translate his body from the common churchyard into the choir; but the solemn procession was delayed on July 15, and for forty days after, by violent rains, which were supposed to have been produced by the humble-minded saint.[1] St. Birstan, another bishop of the see, out of his charity, used to sing a psalter at

[1] Foster, Peren. Calend. 344.

midnight in the same cemetery, for the repose of departed souls; and once, when he had finished his orisons with the *Requiescant in pace*, up from the graves came the voices of the dead, as of a great army numberless, making answer Amen.[1] At Durham one who had done a similar kind office was once suddenly surprised by assassins and fled into the midst of the cemetery for refuge, when the whole ground bristled with swords and spears, starting out of the earth in his defence, and the long-buried captains for whom he had prayed, rose up and came together clad in armour, their weapons in their fleshless hands, but without a sound, and so the ghostly band closed around him against his terrified enemies.[2] Ædmer relates how a horrid Ethiopian goblin sat mopping and mowing upon a stone at Worcester, and defied the exertions of eighty men to move it, until St. Oswald dislodged the incumbrance by the sign of the Cross.[3]

The entrance of women had been forbidden by the monks within the Church of Durham, out of deference to St. Cuthbert's rule; and a cross of blue marble on the pavement of the nave still marks the line of demarcation. The Galilee, a kind of porch at first and afterwards a Lady Chapel, is said to have been built at the west end of the Cathedral, because St. Cuthbert caused great rifts to break the walls of a chapel which was begun to be erected in the usual position eastward.[4] Helisend, a pert woman of the chamber to Mahald, the queen of King David of

[1] W. Malm. 163.
[2] Ornsby, 122; Knyghton, col. 2368; S. C. Bagg, Legends, 11.
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Scotland, unlike her mistress, determined to brave the saint; and, putting on a long black cope, entered the church, where she at length sat down, paralysed with terror. St. Cuthbert woke Bernard the sacristan, who searched the church with all speed, and having detected the intruder, poured out upon her a flood of most villanous abuse (we must hope in Latin), dragged her outside, and left her half-dead, and swooning. She at length recovered, and went as a penitent to Elvestowe, and was long in terror lest she should lose her wits, owing to the anger of the saint.[1] In 1333, in Easter week, Queen Philippa, says Robert de Graystanes, arrived from Knaresborough, and, in ignorance of the custom at Durham, entered by the Abbey gate, and supped with the King in the Prior's chamber. When she had retired to bed, a monk informed the King that St. Cuthbert loved not women to be there. At once, at the King's bidding, the Queen rose, and, clad only in her tunic, went to the castle, beseeching the saint not to take vengeance for her unconscious deed.[2] Colgan relates a similar restriction on the approach of women at Lismore and the church of St. Fechin.[3]

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[2] Pointer's Oxon. Acad. 53; Fuller's Worthies, i. 220.

sorrow, in remembrance of a dead sister. Here they are said to have knelt and prayed, until one by one they passed away, and were laid in a common grave. The tower of Winchester is said to have fallen down because the wicked Red King was buried under it.[1]

'The country folk,' says Fuller, 'have a tradition that the master workman built Salisbury and his man Chichester;[2] whilst the one served as a guide across the interminable plain, as Brane and Pepys mention, the other is the only cathedral spire visible at sea.

A dun cow and milkmaid are carved at the north front of Durham Cathedral, and commemorate an old legend which traces the halt of the bearers of St. Cuthbert's body to a supernatural warning that it was to be made where they should hear a woman calling her dun cow home, a play on the old name of the place, Dun-holme.[3]

The Whispering Gallery of Gloucester is sonorous, owing to the thinness of the walls, and its position as an upper passage connecting the triforia; it has these lines written upon it:—

> Doubt not but God who sits on high,
> Thy secret prayers can hear,
> When a dead wall thus cunningly
> Conveys soft whispers to the ear.

Brereton comically converts it into a grand confessional, with the penitent at one end and the confessor at the other, 'whilst a superior grave father,'

[1] Rudborne, 271. [2] Worthies, ii. 384.
[3] Ornsby, 4, 118; Rites, 63.

seated in the little chapel in the middle, overheard the whole colloquy.[1]

At Ripon a rude orifice in the relic chamber of the crypt is pointed out as a test, according to Camden, as crucial as the water of the jealousy among the Jews; probably it served as a place for poor palsied folk to creep through in the expectation of being healed. It was called in 1506, St. Wilfrid's Needle; but, like similar perforations in tombs at St. Didier and St. Menoux, was an imitation of the Basilican transenna. At Canterbury, two small windows permitted votaries to kiss the saint's coffin.[2] At Westminster, pilgrims crept through holes in the basement of the shrine,[3] and fugitives hid under those of Bury[4] and Durham.[5] Giraldus Cambrensis tells pleasant stories of St. David's in its 'vale of roses,' dark with the shadows of lofty hills, the tame jackdaws which loved the sight of a dark frock, the river Alan flowing wine, the spring of St. David bubbling over with fresh milk, and the famous Lochlavar, a talking stone, which burst asunder while a bier was carried over it, and the object of the angry[6] Welshwoman's adjuration when Henry II. was about to cross it in despite of Merlin's prophecy.

Beneath the choir of St. German's Cathedral, in the Isle of Man, is a fine crypt. In this desolate dungeon, reached by thirty steps—the dead above, the booming of the sullen sea below piercing through the crevices of the floor of rock—Eleanor,

[1] Travels, 180.
[2] De Mirac. S. Thomæ. 93.
[3] Camb. Univ. MS. Life of St. Edward.
[4] Jocelyni Chron. 36.
[5] Regin. de Vita. Cuthb. 119.
[6] Op. vi. 107–9.

Duchess of Gloucester, on a charge of witchcraft was imprisoned, 1440–1454. Her spirit after death was supposed to take the form of a spectre hound, the Mauthe Dhoog of 'Peveril of the Peak,' which terrified profane soldiers, as Waldron tells us.

VERGERS' TALES—HANGING MARRIAGES—THE BOLD LEAP AT DURHAM—THE GARTER ROUND BOTH KNEES—THE NOBLEMAN'S SILKEN HALTER—THE FAST OF FORTY DAYS—THE CHAINED HARTS—DEATH BY PRICK OF A NEEDLE—THE LION TOMB AT RIPON—NOBLE EPITAPHS—MISERRIMUS.

In the cloisters of Norwich a boss representing the Temptation was called the Espousals, owing to a misreading of William of Worcester's description as 'where the marriages hung:' the Latin word being, in fact, rational enough, 'towels,' which were hung above the lavatories. At Chichester, the 'Lollards' Chamber,' with the equally apocryphal appurtenances of a rack, was a pure invention of the vergers; it was really the evidence chamber and secret treasury, mentioned in the Sherborne Statutes, and approached by a sliding panel in the wainscot from the old chapter-room over the sacristy, where Haselrigge performed his uncouth antics. Mediæval invention was of a superior kind, as when it imagined an unearthly visitant lengthening the beam of Christ Church, the Chapter of the Dead at Malvern sitting in judgment, or the deep-sea chime of Bosham bells, sunk in the wreck of their despoiler, the wondrous sleep of the

two sister-nuns of Beverley, the vision of St. Hilda at Whitby, the story of the Flower of Furness, or the Marble Chair of Scone. At Durham a figure which holds a glove is represented to be the effigy of a bold man who leaped from the great tower to the ground to win a purse of gold, forming—as a verger once said of some disputed statue, that it was—a 'crux aquarium.' Brereton gives a different version: he says the effigy is that of 'Hubbapella, steward of the work, who disbursed the money when the church was built; and all his money being paid overnight his glove was by a spirit every night filled and supplied; so, as though it was empty, it was replenished every morning, and by this means the great work was erected.'[1] The effigy of Sir Richard Pembridge, an original knight of the Order, has a garter round both knees at Hereford, and the story is, that part of the roof having fallen in and broken the right leg of the effigy, which is of alabaster, a carpenter, being employed to carve a wooden substitute, took for his pattern the remaining leg, and reproduced it.[2] At Llandaff, the gravestone is shown of 'a man who lived in the mountains, and had a desire to be buried in the mother church; he was therefore carried thither by eighty men, who relieved one another by turns, and 3,500 persons followed him to his grave.'[3] Ray mentions at Salisbury a 'tomb for the Lord Hungerford, who was hanged and degraded, and had a toad put into his coat-of-arms; an iron twisted wire hangs up near

[1] Travels, 1635, 84.
[2] Planche Brit. Cost. 147.
[3] B. Willis, Lland. 10.

his tomb signifying an halter, the like for the Lord Stourton.'[1] This is a curious instance of the manner in which legends grow up. The latter nobleman was hanged for murder, with the empty privilege of dying by a silken noose; the first was a gallant soldier, beheaded and honourably interred; possibly the satirist mistook the Hungerford knot for a halter: the toad was part of the armorial bearings of the Botreaux family, to which he succeeded in right of his mother.[2] Still vergers point out the cadaver, the sad symbol of mortality, as the figure of one who essayed to imitate our Lord's fast of forty days and perished in the attempt; and at Westminster a new vulgar error was long promulgated with regard to Elizabeth Russell, who appears pointing with her finger to a skull, which Goldsmith and Addison say was said to refer to her death by pricking her finger with a needle, with the further addition as a judgment for working on Sunday. 'I wonder,' said Sir Roger de Coverley, 'that Sir Richard Baker has said nothing of her in his "Chronicle."' Still the story may be told whilst these two noble epitaphs are forgotten, one of Margaret Lucas, 'of a noble family, for all the brothers were valiant and all the sisters virtuous,' and the other of Purcell, 'who left this life, and is gone to that blessed place where only his harmonies can be excelled.' Dr. Blow, the successor of Purcell, composed the grand anthem, 'I beheld, and lo! a great multitude,' in order to refute the

[1] Itin. 197.

[2] Dugd. Baronage, i. 205; Berry, Encycl. of Heral. i. s. v. toad.

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The last wish of Atterbury when in the Tower [and it was denied to him], was to pass through the Abbey, and see the great rose window which had been put up under his direction in the north transept.

The Martyrdom, or north transept of Canterbury, commemorates the murder of Becket. The five beautiful north windows of the Minster, now filled with grisaille glass quarries, called the 'Five Sisters of York,' are connected with a legend of four young orphans, wards of St. Mary's Abbey, who agreed to fill the lancets with memorial glass, in patterns taken from their broidery-frames, long laid aside for

[1] Imit. of Hor. B. ii. S. ii. 246.

[2] Pointer's Oxon. Acad. 53; Fuller's Worthies, i. 220.

sorrow, in remembrance of a dead sister. Here they are said to have knelt and prayed, until one by one they passed away, and were laid in a common grave. The tower of Winchester is said to have fallen down because the wicked Red King was buried under it.[1]

'The country folk,' says Fuller, 'have a tradition that the master workman built Salisbury and his man Chichester;[2] whilst the one served as a guide across the interminable plain, as Brane and Pepys mention, the other is the only cathedral spire visible at sea.

A dun cow and milkmaid are carved at the north front of Durham Cathedral, and commemorate an old legend which traces the halt of the bearers of St. Cuthbert's body to a supernatural warning that it was to be made where they should hear a woman calling her dun cow home, a play on the old name of the place, Dun-holme.[3]

The Whispering Gallery of Gloucester is sonorous, owing to the thinness of the walls, and its position as an upper passage connecting the triforia; it has these lines written upon it:—

> Doubt not but God who sits on high,
> Thy secret prayers can hear,
> When a dead wall thus cunningly
> Conveys soft whispers to the ear.

Brereton comically converts it into a grand confessional, with the penitent at one end and the confessor at the other, 'whilst a superior grave father,'

[1] Rudborne, 271. [2] Worthies, ii. 384.
[3] Ornsby, 4, 118; Rites, 63.

seated in the little chapel in the middle, overheard the whole colloquy.[1]

At Ripon a rude orifice in the relic chamber of the crypt is pointed out as a test, according to Camden, as crucial as the water of the jealousy among the Jews; probably it served as a place for poor palsied folk to creep through in the expectation of being healed. It was called in 1506, St. Wilfrid's Needle; but, like similar perforations in tombs at St. Didier and St. Menoux, was an imitation of the Basilican transenna. At Canterbury, two small windows permitted votaries to kiss the saint's coffin.[2] At Westminster, pilgrims crept through holes in the basement of the shrine,[3] and fugitives hid under those of Bury[4] and Durham.[5] Giraldus Cambrensis tells pleasant stories of St. David's in its 'vale of roses,' dark with the shadows of lofty hills, the tame jackdaws which loved the sight of a dark frock, the river Alan flowing wine, the spring of St. David bubbling over with fresh milk, and the famous Lochlavar, a talking stone, which burst asunder while a bier was carried over it, and the object of the angry[6] Welshwoman's adjuration when Henry II. was about to cross it in despite of Merlin's prophecy.

Beneath the choir of St. German's Cathedral, in the Isle of Man, is a fine crypt. In this desolate dungeon, reached by thirty steps—the dead above, the booming of the sullen sea below piercing through the crevices of the floor of rock—Eleanor,

[1] Travels, 180.
[2] De Mirac. S. Thomæ. 93.
[3] Camb. Univ. MS. Life of St. Edward.
[4] Jocelyni Chron. 36.
[5] Regin. de Vita. Cuthb. 119.
[6] Op. vi. 107–9.

Duchess of Gloucester, on a charge of witchcraft was imprisoned, 1440–1454. Her spirit after death was supposed to take the form of a spectre hound, the Mauthe Dhoog of 'Peveril of the Peak,' which terrified profane soldiers, as Waldron tells us.

VERGERS' TALES—HANGING MARRIAGES—THE BOLD LEAP AT DURHAM—THE GARTER ROUND BOTH KNEES—THE NOBLEMAN'S SILKEN HALTER—THE FAST OF FORTY DAYS—THE CHAINED HARTS—DEATH BY PRICK OF A NEEDLE—THE LION TOMB AT RIPON—NOBLE EPITAPHS—MISERRIMUS.

In the cloisters of Norwich a boss representing the Temptation was called the Espousals, owing to a misreading of William of Worcester's description as 'where the marriages hung:' the Latin word being, in fact, rational enough, 'towels,' which were hung above the lavatories. At Chichester, the 'Lollards' Chamber,' with the equally apocryphal appurtenances of a rack, was a pure invention of the vergers; it was really the evidence chamber and secret treasury, mentioned in the Sherborne Statutes, and approached by a sliding panel in the wainscot from the old chapter-room over the sacristy, where Haselrigge performed his uncouth antics. Mediæval invention was of a superior kind, as when it imagined an unearthly visitant lengthening the beam of Christ Church, the Chapter of the Dead at Malvern sitting in judgment, or the deep-sea chime of Bosham bells, sunk in the wreck of their despoiler, the wondrous sleep of the

two sister-nuns of Beverley, the vision of St. Hilda at Whitby, the story of the Flower of Furness, or the Marble Chair of Scone. At Durham a figure which holds a glove is represented to be the effigy of a bold man who leaped from the great tower to the ground to win a purse of gold, forming—as a verger once said of some disputed statue, that it was—a 'crux aquarium.' Brereton gives a different version: he says the effigy is that of 'Hubbapella, steward of the work, who disbursed the money when the church was built; and all his money being paid overnight his glove was by a spirit every night filled and supplied; so, as though it was empty, it was replenished every morning, and by this means the great work was erected.'[1] The effigy of Sir Richard Pembridge, an original knight of the Order, has a garter round both knees at Hereford, and the story is, that part of the roof having fallen in and broken the right leg of the effigy, which is of alabaster, a carpenter, being employed to carve a wooden substitute, took for his pattern the remaining leg, and reproduced it.[2] At Llandaff, the gravestone is shown of 'a man who lived in the mountains, and had a desire to be buried in the mother church; he was therefore carried thither by eighty men, who relieved one another by turns, and 3,500 persons followed him to his grave.'[3] Ray mentions at Salisbury a 'tomb for the Lord Hungerford, who was hanged and degraded, and had a toad put into his coat-of-arms; an iron twisted wire hangs up near

[1] Travels, 1635, 84.
[2] Planche Brit. Cost. 147.
[3] B. Willis, Lland. 10.

his tomb signifying an halter, the like for the Lord Stourton.'[1] This is a curious instance of the manner in which legends grow up. The latter nobleman was hanged for murder, with the empty privilege of dying by a silken noose; the first was a gallant soldier, beheaded and honourably interred; possibly the satirist mistook the Hungerford knot for a halter: the toad was part of the armorial bearings of the Botreaux family, to which he succeeded in right of his mother.[2] Still vergers point out the cadaver, the sad symbol of mortality, as the figure of one who essayed to imitate our Lord's fast of forty days and perished in the attempt; and at Westminster a new vulgar error was long promulgated with regard to Elizabeth Russell, who appears pointing with her finger to a skull, which Goldsmith and Addison say was said to refer to her death by pricking her finger with a needle, with the further addition as a judgment for working on Sunday. 'I wonder,' said Sir Roger de Coverley, 'that Sir Richard Baker has said nothing of her in his "Chronicle."' Still the story may be told whilst these two noble epitaphs are forgotten, one of Margaret Lucas, 'of a noble family, for all the brothers were valiant and all the sisters virtuous,' and the other of Purcell, 'who left this life, and is gone to that blessed place where only his harmonies can be excelled.' Dr. Blow, the successor of Purcell, composed the grand anthem, 'I beheld, and lo! a great multitude,' in order to refute the

[1] Itin. 197.

[2] Dugd. Baronage, i. 205; Berry, Encycl. of Heral. i. s. v. toad.

king's challenge that he could not equal the music of an Italian, one of the royal favourites. It was sung on the following Sunday in the abbey. Father Peter, a Jesuit, being charged to convey the approval of James II., added on his own account, 'I think it too long.' 'Too long!' retorted the great musician, 'that is truly the opinion of one fool.' A friend found Roubiliac standing with folded arms, and eyes centred on one of the knights which support the arms of Sir Francis Vere; three times he addressed him without an answer, and then the sculptor hurriedly whispered, 'Hush, hush, he will speak presently.' 'Victory, or Westminster Abbey,' was the thought of Nelson before his crowning triumph; and yet Sir Godfrey Kneller passionately repudiated the bare idea of a grave within its walls, assigning as his reason that 'they do bury fools there.' Before the battle of Wakefield one evening (and indeed at all hours it was his custom to visit the Abbey), Henry VI. came by torchlight to choose the place of his burial. He was strangely ignorant of the names of the kings among whose tombs he passed, but refused to permit the removal of any, and at length pointed with the white staff which he held in his hand to a site under the shadow of the great shrine, where he waited whilst the master-mason traced the outline of the grave. Pepys kissed the dead lips of Catharine of Valois, her coffin being left exposed to every idle gaze. The saddest epitaph ever written is that on the gravestone of Morris, the nonjuror, in the cloister of Worcester—a single word, 'Miserrimus.' Sir Thomas Browne, the 'scholar and antiquary,

thought it worth his while at Norwich, to collect all the inscriptions and write a book called Repertorium.'[1] Never was there a prouder one than that written on Wren in St. Paul's: 'Si monumentum requiris, circumspice.'

The chained harts, the badge of Richard II., sculptured on the capitals of the great pillars at Gloucester, gave origin to a legend that King Edward II.'s funeral car was drawn by a team of those animals from Berkeley Castle. At Ripon a high tomb of grey marble represents in low relief a man kneeling, a lion, and a forest: and tradition a century since described it as covering the grave of an Irish prince, who died at Ripon on his return from Holy Land, whence he had brought the king of beasts, rendered tame as a dog, and following at the heels of this second Androcles. Possibly it may, like an annual sermon preached at St. Catharine Cree Church, rather commemorate a deliverance from a lion. Over the Richmond vault at Chichester the words *Domus Ultima* were inscribed, and Dr. Clarke wrote the following epigram:—[2]

Did he who thus inscribed the wall,
Not read, or not believe St. Paul,
Who says there is (where'er it stands)
Another house—not built with hands?
Or may we gather from these words,
That house is not a House of Lords?

Misericords, the folding under-seats of stalls, are still erroneously called misereres, and shown as ingenious devices for throwing off a sleeping monk.

[1] Defoe, I. 51. [2] Segrave's Chichester, 25.

SECTION VI.

SCOTCH AND IRISH CATHEDRALS — KIRKWALL — THE STATE OF DUNBLANE—LAUD'S RETORT—CROMWELL AT FORTROSE — DUNKELD AND THE TROUBLES OF ITS BISHOPS— ELGIN, THE LAST HIGH MASS—THE LEAD OF ABERDEEN—JAMES I. AT EDINBURGH—JENNY GEDDES—THE CROWN OF ST. GILES—THE LAMP OF ST. ELOI—DR. JOHNSON'S OBSERVATION—GLASGOW AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS.

THESE pages would be incomplete without a few anecdotes connected with the Scotch and Irish Cathedrals.[1] Glasgow and Dunkeld followed the use of Salisbury, Dornoch, Ross, Elgin and Aberdeen, that of Lincoln. Culdees long held St. Andrew's, Brechin and Dunblane, that is, until the thirteenth century. At Armagh they co-existed as a minor college with the greater chapter until the reign of Elizabeth.

The church of St. Magnus, at Kirkwall, has gained fresh renown from having been introduced into the 'Pirate' of Walter Scott.

In 1233 the Cathedral of Dunblane lay roofless, and a rustic chaplain said mass thrice a week within

[1] Comp. Colgan, ii. 458.

it.[1] When Laud rode past Dunblane in 1633, he observed that this was 'a goodly church.' 'Yes, my lord,' said a bystander, 'before the Reformation it was a brave kirk.' 'What, fellow!' cried the primate, looking at the havoc, 'Deformation, not Reformation.'[2]

Cromwell destroyed Fortrose to build a fort at Inverness. At Dunkeld, Bishop Lauder, c. 1470, while celebrating High Mass on Whitsunday, was compelled to find shelter among the rafters of the choir roof from the arrows and swords of the clan Donnoquhy, led by an Athol chieftain. The Chapter was constantly exposed to the raids of the Highland lairds, who carried off their cattle and despoiled the treasury.

Gawain Douglas came to take possession of the throne, and was received with a shower of shot from the Cathedral tower, and only obtained access to his church by the help of the retainers of that mighty clan summoned from Fife and Angus. At Elgin, within the choir and towers, still brilliant with mural colour, the adherents of the elder form of religion continued to worship in the middle of the sixteenth century; in 1594 the last High Mass was sung within these walls as a thank-offering of the victory of the 'popish earls' of the north over the forces of the Protestant west. Upon its towers and magnificence, Florence Wilson, when meditating his 'De Animi Tranquillitate,' loved to gaze from the banks of the Lossie. The Wolf of Badenoch, whom the Bishop

[1] See Quarterly Review, clxix. art. iv.
[2] Row's Hist. of the Kirk, 369.

had excommunicated, burned, in 1390, the 'Lantern of the North.' The penance of this truculent Alexander at the Blackfriars' door of Perth was lost on the eighty gentlemen of the names of Innes, who, on May 2, 1555, like his 'wild wicked Highlandmen,' invaded the cathedral, and during vespers and before the sacrament, endeavoured to slay the Prior of Pluscardine and some of the Dunbars; who about the same time, sixty in number, made violent reprisals on their late assailants on the same holy ground. In 1568, the lead off the roof was stripped for 'sustentation of the men of war, until the rebellions should be reduced.' It was consigned to Holland, the mart of such sacrilegious spoils, but sunk in mid-sea.

In 1701, the townguard of Kirkwall, at Lammas fair, kept guard within the cathedral, shooting guns, burning great fires on the graves of the dead, drinking, fiddling, piping, swearing, and cursing night and day, so that the preacher could not open his mouth, nor the hearers conveniently attend for the smoke.[1]

The Privy Council, in February, 1568, ordered the Cathedral of Aberdeen to be unroofed, and the lead sold in Holland to pay the Regent Murray's troops. The sacrilegious plunder, happily, sunk off Aberdeen. In 1560, the barons of Mernes, with some of the townspeople, demolished the choir, and shipped the lead bells and other accessories of the church of St. Machar to Holland, but the ill-gotten wealth sunk at sea not far from the Girdleness.[2] The high altar of the church, a piece of the finest

[1] Rentals of Orkney, App. 71.
[2] Registrum, lx.

workmanship in all Europe, was demolished with its richly-carved crowns by the Presbyterian minister in 1649, taking the hatchet of the carpenter, who refused to lay hands upon such a fair work, and striking the first blow. The pavement was shivered by the fall of the first portion of the wainscotting.[1]

King James I., in 1596, was greeted as wicked Haman by the Presbyterian teachers at Edinburgh. When Laud and Andrewes attended him, he here, amid the sobs of the congregation, bade his Scottish subjects farewell, promising that he would visit them at least once in every three years. On July 23, 1637, the English Service was first read here by Dean Hannay, on Stoning Sunday or Casting of Stools-day, when Jenny Geddes, a low disreputable kail-wife, immortalized by the Covenanters, hurled her stool at the clergyman's head; and Bishop Lindsay, courageously ascending the pulpit, vainly attempted to preach in the face of the most brutal violence. Bishop Paterson is said to have kissed his band-strings in the pulpit as a signal to a lady to whom he was paying suit, that he could think of her charms even in the midst of an eloquent discourse.[2] The beautiful crown of St. Giles was illuminated on festival eves with coloured lamps—tracery and arch, and every graceful outline standing out dyed with prismatic hues. The silver lamp of St. Eloi, rescued from the sack of Jerusalem, and its four supporting brazen columns, which stood within the canopy, were melted down into cannon. 'Let me see,' said Dr.

[1] Douglas, East Coast of Scotland, 185–6.
[2] Antiq. Portfolio, i. 340.

Johnson to the door-keeper, 'what was once the inside of a church!' Brane, in 1700, says it was divided into six sermon-houses.[1] The Priest's Prison for offenders was over the north porch; the King's Pillar was distinguished by its coats of Royal arms on the capitals; and the Regent's Aisle was the Paul's Walk of Edinburgh; in it Sempill's idler says, 'He dined with saints and noblemen; even sweet St. Giles and Earl of Murray.' The image of the patron saint, once carried through the streets with 'talbrone, trumpet, schalme and clarioun,' was thrown into the North Loch, as an encourager of idolatry, and then burned as a heretic. At the altar of St. Eloi, the craftsmen who had followed Alan, Lord Steward of Scotland, to recover the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the paynims, dedicated the Blue Blanket or Banner of the Holy Ghost.[2]

The Glasgow folks compared the building of 'the Pride of Lanarkshire' to Penelope's web, saying that, like St. Mungo's work, it would never be finished. In this church Wishart, the warlike Bishop, absolved Robert Bruce after the murder of Comyn. 'Beneath the shadow of the rood loft, unrestrained even in the presence of the Patriarch of Venice, the primates of Scotland struggled for precedence, amid the cries of their attendants, the rending of cope and surplice, and the crash of shivered croziers.' King James of Flodden had a stall in the choir and a seat in the chapter. When Edward I. gave oaks from Ettrick to build the spire, the ungrateful prelate who

[1] Travels, 198.
[2] Wilson Eccles. Ant. ii. 167.

begged them converted the timber into mangonals and catapults against Kirkintilloch Castle. In the sacristy the robes of Bruce were fashioned for his coronation, and the banner of Scotland taken down, while men cried aloud it was more righteous to die for King Robert, than to fall as Crusaders in the Holy Land. In the Chapter-house and crypt assembled the early convocations of the University. The south wing of the transept is called the Dripping Aisle, from a continuous dripping of water off the roof caused by the porous nature of the stone and capillary attraction. In 1650 Cromwell was compelled to sit silent during a sermon of Zachary Boyd, so insulting, that, but for his significant frown, the rash preacher would have been a head shorter under the swords of the arch rebel's captains. Twice has the church been preserved from destruction; in August 1560, when the judicious Lord Provost dissuaded a mob from razing it to the ground by the happily-timed suggestion that it would be premature before a new kirk had been provided; and again, in 1579, when Andrew Melville, Principal of the University, having prevailed on the magistrates for its demolition, the incorporated trades, disgusted at his intolerant bigotry, assembled by beat of drum, and the craftsmen and their deacons repulsed the sacrilegious fanatics with such vigour as to terrify the magistrates, and induce them to forbear, for they threatened to bury the workmen under the ruins if they demolished the church.[1] In 1560 Cardinal Beaton carried away to France all the splendid altar-

[1] Brane, 203.

plate, the rich contents of the treasury, the vestments and the records, and so preserved them from certain sacrilege.[1] The old chroniclers give a picturesque account of the solemnities with which King Alexander endowed the see of St. Andrew's with the 'Boar's Chace' lands, long the haunt of a monstrous wild boar, the terror of huntsmen, and at length killed by the united efforts of the whole country side. He led up to the high altar of St. Rule, his Arab barb caparisoned with 'mantle of velvet and armoury of turkey,' which he offered along with his silver shield, saddle, and lance, the latter being afterwards made the shaft of the processional cross, in striking contrast with the simpler and more economical form of conveyance of domains with a turf by a king in later times. The tusks in 1520, measuring sixteen inches long and four in breadth, Böethius[2] saw attached with small silver chains 'to the altar, *ad sellas D. Andreæ.*' The burning of St. Andrew's Cathedral, in 1318, tradition refers to a jackdaw carrying a piece of lighted wood to its nest in the eaves. The great western portal from its rich ornamentation was called the Golden Porch, just as the north entrance of Westminster Abbey received the name of Solomon's Porch or the Beautiful Gate. The roofs were covered with copper and reflected the sun's rays with such brilliancy, that the gleam was visible by seamen at a great distance across the German Ocean. The bells were taken on board ship to be

[1] Mac Ure's Glasgow, 30.
[2] xii. 263. Comp. Wyntoun and Fordun.

sold in Holland, but the ill-freighted vessel sank within sight of Scottish shores.

WHY LORD KILDARE BURNED CASHEL—THE DEFENCE OF THE ROCK—WALTER SCOTT—WILLIAM III. AT ST. PATRICK'S—THE FLAGS OF DERRY—THE FRAY—A MAYOR'S PENANCE—CHORAL SERVICE IN IRELAND—A CAPTURED ORGAN—THE GUN OF LIMERICK—THE BELLS OF CORK AND ST. MARY'S, LIMERICK.

MANY of the Irish so-called cathedrals are mere parish churches, and some in ruins, whilst Clonmacnoise is the Cathedral of the diocese of Meath, and St. Canice's, Kilkenny, that of Ossory, and very few of the rest retain even a vestige of a choral service and a resident body of clergy. At Cashel, in the wars of the Butlers and FitzGeralds, the Earl of Kildare burned the Cathedral (1495), and excused himself to the King, on the plea that he should never have committed such a sacrilege, but he was told that of a certainty Archbishop Creagh was inside: the King answered the Bishop of Meath, who complained of his turbulence—'If all Ireland cannot govern this man, who so fit as he to govern her?'—and he constituted him viceroy, August 6, 1496. In 1647, Lord Inchiquin and the Parliamentarians summoned the citizens to pay him 3,000*l.* to retire; but they bravely took to the rock, and numbers, with twenty monks, were slain at the storming. Archbishop Price, not being able to drive up the steep ascent to the rock, procured an Act of Parliament to change his see to the church of St. John, and unroofed the cathedral

(1744–1752) for the sake of its lead. The great 'Magician of the North' was on his way to London, when, astonished by the unexpected magnificence of the ruins, he forgot his intended journey, and was found at midnight wandering through the lonely aisles.

At St. Patrick's, Dublin, in 1514, 'a round knot of [the Geraldine] archers rushed to the church, meaning to have murdered Ormond; the earl, suspecting that he had been betrayed, fled to the chapter house, and put to the door, sparring it with might and main. The citizens in their rage, imagining that every post in the church had been one of the soldiers, shot hob or nob at random, up to the roodloft, up to the images and to the chancel, leaving some of their arrows sticking in the images.[1] The epitaph on the monument of the Duke of Schomberg, written by Swift, roused George I. to great indignation, as he said the dean did it out of malice to embroil him with the King of Prussia, who had married the general's grand-daughter. In the choir William III. returned thanks for his victory, wearing the crown which James II. had abandoned in his flight. At Derry, the staffs of the French flags captured by brave Dr. Walker, in a desperate sally of the garrison, and carried in procession by the ladies of the city after the great siege was raised, are hung over the altar in the Cathedral. At St. Patrick's the banners of the Knights of St. Patrick are suspended in the choir. Until the Reformation, the mayor, as an act of penance, walked barefoot to the Cathedral and St. Patrick's on Corpus Christi

[1] Holinshed, vi. 276.

Day.[1] Lambert Simnell was crowned in Christ-Church in 1486,[2] and the men of Dublin, in 1405, after a raid in Scotland, crossed the seas and did much hurt to the Welshmen, and brought away the shrine of St. Cubins, and placed it in this church.[3] In 1268, contumacious persons were publicly beaten or cudgelled in Christchurch.[4] In 1578, a citizen did penance, standing barefoot before the pulpit.[5] The aisles once were desecrated into stables for Cromwell's, and, later, for James II.'s troopers. 'A little old room remains over the south aisle of St. Patrick's, where it is held on tradition that Ussher received the rudiments of his education.'[6] St. Canice's, Kilkenny, also suffered during its occupation by the Roundheads. Some vestments once worn at Waterford are now at Oscott. Armagh and St. Patrick have two choral services; and Limerick one, in the afternoon, daily. The organ of St. Patrick's was captured by the Duke of Ormond at the siege of Vigo, in 1702. Each petition in the Lord's Prayer, by local use, has a musical inflection. In the memorable siege, the tower of Limerick had a large gun placed on it, and plied so successfully, that although the gunner was killed, Ginkle did not care to fire any more upon the church. It was used as a barrack. Cromwell confiscated the bells of Cork, adding, with a gloomy humour, that 'as a Priest invented gunpowder, bells should go for cannon.' Raymond le Gros in 1173 raised black-mail with ease when he

[1] Harris, ch. xl. pp. 279, 287.
[2] Holinshed, vi. 270.
[3] Ib. 261.
[4] Harris, p. 252.
[5] Ibid. p. 318.
[6] Life, 231.

threatened in default to burn the Cathedral of Lismore, so deeply did the Irish venerate it. The Fire-house of St. Bridget contained the sacred flame fed by nuns and holy women, which burned on unextinguished, except with very rare interruptions, until the dissolution of the abbey at Kildare. The cathedral of Glendalough stands near the lake

> 'Whose gloomy shore
> Skylark never warbles o'er,'

as it is said St. Kevin silenced its song, for it woke the indefatigable workmen at an hour too early for rising without danger to their health. Giraldus is full of quaint traditions about the illuminated Gospels, the tame falcons, the maiden-tended fire and unploughed pastures of Kildare, the ravens of Glendalough, which kept St. Kevin's feast, and the speaking Crucifix of Christ Church, Dublin, which would not desert its charge.[1] In 1559, Robert Leigh, by a coarse stratagem with a sponge thought to confute the reformers by making the image there sweat blood, but was most ignominiously detected by the archbishop.[2]

The Cathedral bells of Limerick were cast by an Italian founder for a monastery near his home which was destroyed when his three sons fell together on the fatal field of Pavia. Years after, he came an exile to Ireland; on his reaching the Shannon, the evening was closing in, when from the square tower of St. Mary rang out a rich peal of melody. One note was enough; the aged stranger, with arms folded

[1] Op. V. 113, 122, 123, 128. [2] Ware's Hunting, etc. pp. 86–91.

over his beating heart, leaned forward to catch the magical music of the chime; it was the well-remembered sound of his own dear bells, with their thousand agonising memories of Florence, that had arrested his ear. Like the long silent voices of the lost, he did not stir—

The father had gone to his children, the old Campanaro was dead.[1]

CONCLUSION.

It is a painful blot on the annals of our Cathedrals, that they do not contain the names of Keble, Neale, or Isaac Williams; and those patrons who desire to maintain the system, must now take good heed that there may be no eligible man who will have to say, with Norris of Bemerton, in his garden, when he was congratulated on his 'prospect of Salisbury Cathedral,' 'Alas! it is my only one!' On the other hand, it is particularly mentioned that a prebend in St. Paul's was given as an encouragement to Bishop Horsley, and that Dr. Kennicott in commencing his vast task, looked forward confidently to the reward which he obtained. Bentley, however, who loved money, refused the deanery of Lincoln unless a prebend at Westminster were attached to it, which gave origin to the following lines—

And pray now, good master, how came it, the Queen,
Who knew you so well, would not make you a dean?
Quoth he, I might now have been in Lincoln Church,
Would I've left my dear College and you in the lurch.[2]

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[1] Dubl. Univ. Mag. xxx, 287. [2] Life, by Monk, ii. 292.

What a splendid tradition of names—what a grand pedigree of worthies is associated with these foundations, in which—omitting those raised to the English Episcopate—our chief divines who form the glory of the English Church, and consolidated its strength, studious antiquaries, accomplished scholars, learned historians, saint-like and laborious occupants, have adorned the stalls. A long catalogue of such names might be dry. I shall, therefore, only indicate a few of the most well-known and familiar as a sample of the list ready to my hand. At Canterbury (the refuge of Isaac Vossius, Casaubon, Saravia and De Moulin), Ædmer, Gervase and Thorn; Castell, author of the Lexicon and Polyglott Bible, and Mill, the editor of the Greek Testament; Shuckford and Elstob; at York, Stubbs the historian and archbishop Bramhall; at Carlisle, Paley and Percy, who learned here his love for 'Reliques of Border Minstrelsy.' At Chester, Chillingworth and Smith, editor of several classics; at Chichester, Ryves, the author of Mercurius Austicus; Cudworth; Julius C. Hare; W. Oughtred; Hugh James Rose: Stapleton, Saunders, and Harpsfield, the controversialists; at Durham, several monastic chroniclers, including Simeon and Reginald; the founders or chief benefactors of two Colleges at Oxford, Durham and University; Bernard Gilpin, Foxe, a martyr to his own violent predilections; Brevint and Comber. At Ely, Bentley, Spencer, Bentham, Lightfoot, and Dr. Mill. At Exeter, Adam Murimuth, Toup, and Lyttelton; at Gloucester, Field and Hyde; at Hereford, Polydore Vergil; at Lichfield, Archdeacon Nares; at

Lincoln, Mapes, the English Anacreon, Henry of Huntingdon, the historian, Thorndike, Outram, George Herbert, Echard, and Pegge; at Norwich, Prideaux and Sherlock; at Oxford, Aldrich and Gaisford, South, Pococke, Holmes, Kennicott, Burton, and Archbishop Lawrence; at Peterborough, Lively, one of the translators of the Bible, Gunton, and Thomas Jackson; at Rochester, Plume, the biographer of Hacket; at St. Paul's, Colet, Nowel, Donne, Sherlock and Milman, Diceto the historian, Peter de Blois, Jortin, Waterland, Tyrwhitt, and Beloe; at Salisbury, Hooker, Fuller, author of the 'Worthies,' Whitby, Spinckes, and the founder of the Bampton Lectures; at Wells, Sandys the traveller, and Horneck; at Winchester, Dr. Nott and Joseph Warton; at Worcester, Inett, G. Hickes, and John Davison; at Westminster, Hakluyt, Barrow, Heylin, Ireland, and Buckland, men honoured in their generations, and companions of many only of less fame, although their rivals in learning and equals in piety and good works; Bingham and Mede certainly were not fostered in a chapter, but John Hales, of Eton the 'ever memorable,' and Cave held stalls at Windsor. If the old walls could speak, many a curious memory would be recalled which is now for ever lost, and we have only here and there an indication of what passed within. The Dean of Lincoln in ancient times feeding twenty-five poor and impotent folk every day, as Ken gave dinners to twelve men and women every Sunday in the great hall of Wells; Jewel watching his hunting pack at Salisbury, or lending a horse in the shape of a stout

walking staff to young Hooker on his way to Oxford; Field in his library of Gloucester, according to Lestrange, showing a body of controversial clergy a new way 'to reconcile the Fathers' by putting stoups brimful of sack alongside his books; the 'pearl of Normandy' walking over the fiery ploughshares afterwards buried in the cloisters of Winchester; Henry III. urging the monks to elect his half-brother; his father listening to their rueful tale of a more than royal diet, and Richard keeping his coronation feast in the refectory; Ethelwold imperiously throwing down a bale of cowls in the choir where Colbrand's sword was suspended, and bidding his clerks adopt them or leave the minster, or Warburton, on his arrival at Gloucester, addressing two superannuated vergers with this mild pleasantry, 'Gentlemen, I presume that you have been here since the Reformation.'

In the celebration of Divine service, Cathedrals, as Mother-churches, ought to be models; they 'are the standard and rule to all parochial churches of solemnity and decent manner,[1] by which all the other churches depending thereon ought to be guided,'[2] for they are 'the chief and principal ornaments of this realm, and, next to the Universities, chief maintainers of godliness, religion, and learning.'[3]

In accordance with the time-serving spirit of Cranmer, who said, 'It maketh no great matter if the sect of prebendaries—good vianders and living in idleness—and religious men (monks) perish both to-

[1] 1670. Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 331; comp. vii. Canon. 1640.
[2] 1633. Ibid. i. 239. [3] Whitgift, iii. 394.

gether'[1] changes in Cathedrals are said to be threatened once more: possibly it may be so; but no mutation can destroy their associations; trial may impend on those who love these holy foundations, but the reflection may serve as an augury of good hope, that they exist after witnessing many social, historical, and ecclesiastical revolutions; and with God's help they will survive the machinations of all who would diminish their vitality or impair their condition, on any pretext, however specious.

All that remains of old St. Paul's is in the engravings of Hollar and the verse of Milton, educated under its shadow, recalling its stately and venerable glories when he wrote of the 'studious cloysters pale'—

> The high embowed roof,
> With antick pillars massy proof,
> And storied windows richly dight,
> Casting a dim religious light.

And recollected 'the pealing organ,' and 'the full-voiced quire below'—

> In service high and anthems clear.[2]

So true is it what old Fuller says: 'When their substance is gone their very shadows will be acceptable to posterity,'[3] for—

> Nor zeal for God, nor love to man,
> Gives mortal monuments a date
> Beyond the power of time.

Changes in infinite variety have befallen the interior constitution of Cathedrals, but the touching

[1] Remains, 396, 397.
[2] Penseroso, 154-163. [3] Ch. Hist. i. 499.

words of Henry of Huntingdon,[1] and Sherborne's bequest of a gold piece to each of his successors at a visitation, as a 'sign of kindly remembrance, which he trusted would be mutual,' show the continuity of feeling common to each generation of occupants, and the bright sunny sketch of Wells made in the fifteenth century,[2] might be reproduced with truth as a lively portraiture of Closes as they now exist. No age happily has an exclusive appropriation of either abuses or high excellence: and in these days (with the outburst of fresh life, the spring after a long winter), the inward and spiritual edification of the Church has been as great as the outward and material. In the dark age of the past and in the earlier part of the present century choral and daily worship, division of services and befitting ceremonial,[3] with free and open seats were maintained well-nigh only in cathedrals. To them we owe the preservation of traditions and customs which have directed the new energy of our own period, and form a chief instrument in producing the essential uniformity and general consent in external rites and offices of religion, that are indispensable for the maintenance of decent order in the Church.

The secret of the ever-springing pleasure which follows the sight of a fine cathedral does not lie in its exact proportions, grandeur, or beauty as a creation of architecture, it is found in the far deeper source which connects us with the builders them-

[1] A. S. ii. 696. [2] Bekynton's Lett. ii. 322.

[3] Choral processions have been revived at Chichester, Canterbury, Salisbury, and Peterborough on special occasions.

selves. The tradition of the genuine freemason constructing these glorious churches can now only be faintly perceived by accurate measurements and the closest observation, but we all know that the aim was faultless perfection in the minutest detail, as well as grandeur in the whole design,—in fact, to symbolise the spiritual Church in miniature,[1] just as the Temple of Jerusalem had previously served as 'a shadow and pattern.'[2] Porches called by the name of Galilee and the churchyard Paradise, adoring saints and censing angels, gave a semblance of life to the dull stone, seeming to bear their part in a divine concert; mural colour and bright stained-glass represented the bow of mercy set in the clouds; sculpture illustrating scriptural history formed the book of the unlearned, and to the eye of the initiated in the length, breadth, and height of the building holy associations were revived. A cathedral was not merely a great national epic carved in stone, nor a magnificent evidence of the faculty which shadows God's own creative power, but it was instinct with devotional feeling and poetic thought, being the visible expression of the purest and loftiest associations of the human heart. The church points to the east, as to the place of the nativity, sacrifice, and second coming of the Redeemer; the first and last object in the mind and heart of a ransomed world. It was placed on an elevated site, or removed away from common buildings, so as to be open to the light, emblematically of its destination, as a place consecrated to the Most High for intercession between earth and heaven. The porch, nave, choir, and sanc-

[1] 1 S. Pet. ii. 5. [2] 1 Chron. xxviii. 19; Heb. viii. 5, ix. 1, 23.

tuary, represented severally the Penitent, Christian, Saintly, and Heavenly life. The entrance-door with its imagery of saints, signified Paradise; the pulpit in the nave the stone rolled away from the sepulchre, on which the angel sitting preached the gospel of the resurrection; the stone screen before the choir, the portals of glory, through the power of the Cross which was elevated upon it; the crypt, the moral death of man; the cruciform shape, the Atonement; and in some instances the lateral walls are inclined inward towards the east, so as to guide the eye unconsciously towards the holiest of all. The apse indicated the place where the Redeemer's head was laid, the deflection of the choir represents it drooping in agony; the great transept shows how His arms were spread abroad; the choir-transept pourtrayed the scroll of the cross; the radiating eastern chapels were the rays of the aureole about His head: hence the old writers speak of the head, arms, and body of a church. At Peterborough and Ely, the western transept forms the step of the cross, at Lincoln the figures of the Virgin and St. John might be drawn within the chapels at the foot of the cross, standing on the first step: the second step denoting the approach of other disciples. To some readers this ideal may appear purely imaginative; but at least the fact remains that the art which it inspired has never been rivalled or reproduced with all the greater mechanical appliances, the more abundant wealth, and the experience of later times.

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